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ABSTRACT

These conference papers report on interim outcomes of investigations conducted at the German Institute for International Educational Research. An opening address, "Education, Democracy and Development in a Period of Revolutionary Change" (Wolfgang Mitter), is followed by four sets of papers. The first set, "European Community," includes "European Dimension, Multiculturalism, and Teacher Training--Experience in a Network of Training Institutions" (Christoph Kodron) and "Democratic Legitimation and the Educational Policy of the European Community" (Ulrich Schaffer). Next, "Post-Communist Societies" presents "School Development in the East German Federal States and the European Context" (Hans Dobert); "Upheavals in Hungarian Education" (Martas Gutsche); "First Projects of Functional Literacy in the New Federal States of Germany" (Gerhard Huck); "Comparative Education between Ideology and Science on the Self-Concept and the Evolution of the Discipline in the GDR" (Bernd John); and "Global Changes and the Context of Education, Democracy and Development in Eastern Europe" (Botho von Kopp). The third section, "Asia and Africa," offers "Inspiring Achievements and Hard Tasks Ahead: A Study on the Recent Development of Literacy Education in the People's Republic of China" (Fu Li); "UNESCO's Environmental Education Efforts in the Tanzanian Context" (Gerhard Huck); and "The Japanese University in a Changing Context: More Market or More Regulation?" (Botho von Kopp). Finally, "Research Projects in Progress" contains the papers: "School as a Place of Socialization and Learning--an International Comparison on School Reality: Description of the Project" (Peter Dobrich); "Intra-national Comparson of Instructional Time, Time in School, and School-related Time in Bavaria, Hamburg and Hesse" (Wolfgang Huck); "Time for School--Initial Results from an International Comparison" (Wolfgang Huck); "Immigrant Children and Special Education: The Situation in Germany" (Andrea Mertens, Dirk Randoll); "Effects of Mainstreaming in Schools: Results from Empirical Studies in Two European Countries" (Dirk Randoll); and "Recent Trends in All-day Schooling and Child Care in Some European Countries" (Gerlind Schmidt). (LL)

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Deutsches Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung
German Institute for International Educational Research

Bildung und Erziehung im Umbruch

Vorträge von Mitarbeitern des Deutschen Instituts auf dem VIII. Weltkongreß für Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft, "Education, Democracy and Development", vom 8.-14. Juli 1992 in Prag

Upheaval and Change in Education

Papers presented by members of the German Institute at the VIIIth World Congress of Comparative Education, "Education, Democracy and Development", Prague, July 8-14, 1992

Wolfgang Mitter / Ulrich Schäfer (Hrsg./Eds.)

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Vorwort der Herausgeber

Dieses Buch ist das Ergebnis von Vorträgen auf dem VIII. Weltkongreß für Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft vom 8. bis 14. Juli 1992 in Prag, der vom World Council of Comparative Education Societies in Zusammenarbeit mit der Tschechoslowakischen Gesellschaft für Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft veranstaltet wurde.

Die Autoren sind Wissenschaftler des Deutschen Instituts für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung in Frankfurt am Main. Das Buch enthält darüber hinaus Beiträge von Mitarbeitern der Forschungsstelle in Berlin, um die das Institut 1991 erweitert wurde.

Die Vorträge wurden im Rahmen verschiedener "Kommissionen" und "Arbeitsgruppen" gehalten und diskutiert. Sie haben Zwischenergebnisse von Untersuchungen, die im Deutschen Institut durchgeführt werden, zum Inhalt. Eingeleitet wird der Band mit der Eröffnungsansprache, die Wolfgang Mitter in seiner Eigenschaft als Präsident des World Council hielt.

Editors' Preface

This book is the result of papers presented at the 8th World Congress of Comparative Education in Prague from July 8th to 14th, 1992. This Congress was organised by the World Council of Comparative Education Societies in co-operation with the Czechoslovak Comparative Education Society.

The authors are researchers on the staff of the German Institute for International Educational Research in Frankfurt am Main. Since 1991 this Institute has been extended by a research unit in Berlin whose members have also contributed to this book.

The papers were presented and discussed within the programmes of several „Commissions" and „Working Groups". They deal with interim outcomes of investigations which have been conducted in the German In-

stitute. The series is introduced by the Address which was read by Wolfgang Mitter in his capacity as President of the World Council.

Frankfurt am Main,
1. Juni/June 1 1993

Wolfgang Mitter/Ulrich Schäfer

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Wolfgang Mitter

Education, Democracy and Development in a Period of Revolutionary Change*

Summary:

The observation of the present global scene raises questions about the socio-economic, political and cultural framework laying the ground for a constructive interaction between the three forces which greatly determine people's existence and survival, namely Development, Democracy and Education. In this approach reference is made to John Dewey's "classical remarks" about the interrelation between Democracy and Education. They are examined in the light of specific historical conditions which are exemplified by references to the history of the "Bohemian Lands" and the first Czechoslovak Republic as well as by a critical outlook to current events, revealing the "anti-human perversion of Dewey's model".

Erziehung, Demokratie und Entwicklung in einer Periode revolutionären Wandels

Zusammenfassung:

Ein Blick auf die gegenwärtige weltweite Szene wirft Fragen auf nach dem politischen und sozio-ökonomischen Rahmen, der Grundlage einer konstruktiven Interaktion der drei Kräfte ist, die vor allem die Existenz und das Überleben der Menschen bestimmen, nämlich Entwicklung, Demokratie und Bildung und Erziehung. Dieser Ansatz bezieht sich auf John Deweys "klassische Bemerkungen" über die Wechselwirkung von Demokratie und Bildung und Erziehung. Diese werden im Lichte spezifischer historischer Bedingungen untersucht, welche gleichermaßen am Beispiel der Geschichte der "Böhmischen Länder" und der ersten Tschechoslowakischen Republik veranschaulicht werden, wie durch einen kritischen Ausblick auf zeitgenössische Ereignisse, die die "menschenfeindliche Perversion von Deweys Modell" offenbaren.

The interdependence of Education, Democracy and Development is not a discovery of the present. Its modern history can be traced back to the threshold of the 19th century, when the emergence of Democracy, starting in the United States, and the outset for Development – at that time inside Europe and North America as concomitant and corollary of the Industrial Revolution – were becoming essential factors on the socio-economic and political scene. At the same time Education, in form of compulsory and systematised establishment, was increasingly recognised as an indispensable instrument for promoting Development as well as Democracy.

My emphasis, however, will be laid on the revolutionary changes in which we ourselves are involved: as witnesses, agents, victims or commentators; in a good number of cases these qualities coincide with professional and existential roles of one individual.

We live in a revolutionary period indeed, when conceiving the notion of Revolution in its comprehensive meaning as the totality of radical socio-economic, political, cultural and educational changes. The collapse of totalitarian Communism in the Soviet Union and its Western neighbouring countries has opened the door to the constitution of democratic structures as well as to "development" in the meaning of economic progress. Similar trends can also be observed in the Third World where they are directly interrelated with reconsiderations concerning socio-economic issues.

No wonder that this is the time for educational reforms whose innovators have, above all, started to revise curricula. Political education, social studies in general and humanities are the subjects occupying the first innovatory priority. "Humanisation", "democratisation" and "individualisation" turn up as key concepts in speeches, programmes and preambles of new curricula. Curriculum innovation is, of course, only part of the current stream, since it is reinforced by efforts to radically change the "ethos" of schools. "Child-centredness", "autonomy" and "self-realisation" indicate the direction at this level.

Yet, when we chose the main theme for this World Congress of Comparative Education two years ago, gladly accepting our Czechoslovak colleagues' proposal, we had expectations which, even in the short retrospect of two years, seem to have been euphoric or even illusory. The "Velvet Revolution", proclaimed by Vaclav Havel, after Tomaš Masaryk the second great humanist as President of our host country, exemplified the

departure from a period of inhumanity and depression for a straight march into economic prosperity and democratic coexistence among people and nations. At the same time, initial traces signalled radical transformation from Apartheid to Human Rights and Tolerance in the racist and anti-democratic society of South Africa.

Two years later the picture we get aware of is far less hopeful. Expectations of short-term economic progress have given way to stagnation and even regression, accompanied by inflation and sharp practice frequently including Mafia methods. The former Soviet Union and some of its neighbouring countries have been caught by poverty and famine, while many regions in the Third World get increasingly threatened by starvation and epidemic disease instead of having the chance of improving their living conditions.

It should not raise any astonishment to observe that Democracy has also lost part of the foundations which had been recently laid. Liberated nations are haunted by disintegration and chaos caused and at the same time reinforced by fanatic outbreaks of nationalism, ethnocentrism and racism, whereby physical violence and force of arms demonstrate the utmost stage of that "bestiality" which the Austrian poet Franz Grillparzer had foreseen as the very end of the decline from "humanity" to "nationality" in the middle of the 19th century, when many of his contemporaries were believing in a pre-stabilised alliance between Human Rights, Democracy and Nationalism.

Education has been dragged into the present crisis, too. Schools are considered as the most defenceless target of austerity policies which entails, among other deficiencies, neglect of equipment, closing-down of educational units, particularly at the pre-school level, and dismissal of teachers, let alone the poor remuneration of those who survive in their professional field. Adolescents react with indifference, frustration, cynicism, aggressiveness or voluntary dropout stimulated by expectations of "making quick money" somewhere on the "free" market.

This observation of the present scene raises questions about the socio-economic, political and cultural framework laying the ground for a constructive interaction among the three forces which greatly determine people's existence and survival, namely Development, Democracy and Education – in this sequence deliberately chosen. In this approach it seems to be helpful to refer to John Dewey's "classical" remarks about the interrelation between Democracy and Education.

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In his fundamental study "Democracy and Education" (1916) Dewey states that "the devotion of democracy to education is a familiar fact". To explain this statement he identifies "voluntary disposition and interest" among the citizens as an important feature of political coherence, and that beyond the rules of the political system. "Voluntary disposition and interest", he argues, "can be only created by education". The "deeper explanation", however, he finds in the essential quality of Democracy as a "mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience"[1]. Education "to personal initiative and adaptability" appears, in Dewey's conclusion, as necessary prerequisite for the viability of Democracy[2].

To reach a stronger understanding of Dewey's conceptual approach, further help is provided by his earlier study "School and Society" (1899), where he had focussed his attention on the structure of the social system within which Education and Democracy can interact successfully: "If our education is to have any meaning for life, it must pass through an equally complete transformation ... To do this means to make each one of our schools an embryonic community life, active with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society". When the school comes up to training "each child of society into membership within such a little community ...", Dewey concludes, "we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely and harmonious"[3].

At this spot I want to leave the direct reference to Dewey's thoughts, asking your permission to have me relate them to the theme of my presentation.

One cannot generalise John Dewey's view of the interrelations between Development – being understood as social development –, Democracy, and Education, because the kind of society, in which these interrelations are to function, is not without preconditions. This refers to the contribution of education to the building of an "embryonic community life" in schools as much as to the imperative consequences with which he considers possible the creation of a "worthy, lovely, and harmonious" society from its own "embryonic" cells, that is the schools.

What John Dewey, the representative of a dynamic and expansive pioneer society founded in the solidarity of small communities, takes for

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1 Dewey, J.: The Middle Works 1899-1924, Vol. 9, p. 93.
2 Ibid, p. 94.
3 Dewey, J.: The Middle Works 1899-1924, Vol. 1, pp. 19-20.

granted, are virtues that are accepted by all members of the society. These virtues include on the one hand the will, readiness, and ability to shape and organise one's life independently and responsibly and on the other the acceptance by all citizens to develop and consolidate the education system in order to pass these preconditions over to the next generation.

In order to meet this expectation – we can follow and conclude from Dewey's thoughts – the school needs an autonomy that offers its participants – headmasters, teachers, pupils – as well as parents and the members of the community the opportunity to make choices and decisions. To all those concerned, the active use of these possibilities must seem the more stimulating the more it entails the prospect of economic prosperity.

Over the past decades the autonomy of the schools – understood not only in a functional but also in a political-administrative sense – has inspired the thoughts and actions of "educationists" (in the widest sense of the term) stimulated by John Dewey or his collegues of the European Educational Movement (Éducation Nouvelle, Reformpädagogik, etc.). It is no wonder that, after the collapse of the totalitarian régimes in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, this term has met with great resonance among the "reformists" of various schools of thought and has provoked experiments on the micro and macro level of pedagogic action, most of which having failed in the meantime, at least with regard to the far-reaching expectations of their initiators.

It is exactly the view at the topicality of a development revealing inconsistencies, or even contradictions, between Development, Education, and Democracy that directly leads us to the discussion of Dewey's approach. "Autonomy" as a general legal and political condition as well as a structural principle of an "embryonic community life" cannot work as long as people live in economic misery. Admittedly, this remark implies the awareness of "misery"; but this thesis refers, without reservation, to people suffering from hunger and cold and in want of basic medical care. Individuals and also closed, religiously defined small groups may practise "autonomous" behaviour even under such circumstances; for a generalisation, especially with regard to the "larger society", however, this term is irrelevant.

These thoughts do not represent the conclusion of my interpretation of Dewey's approach. His "embryonic community life" reflects a "self-generated autonomy", which the "concerned" created and developed of

their own accord. What we encounter in many current concepts of autonomy can rather be classed as "decreed autonomy". Of this latter type of autonomy, history provides many examples, including failure, which its initiators themselves had to endure. Peter the Great may well serve as an example for demonstration.

To be sure, past and present also provide an "intermediate type" which I would like to call "promoted autonomy". Here it is a matter of initiatives emanating from the steering centres of the "larger society", whereby those in charge can refer to models outside of and within their sphere of activity. As regards the education system, the states of Western Europe at present offer numerous examples including France, Italy, Sweden, and Germany. Also the Third World can provide such examples, especially in the sphere of imparting literacy to adults.

"Promoted autonomy" is always in danger of two "derailments": it either lapses into a chaos and an anarchy that impair the coherence of the "larger society" without helping the addressees of "promotion" to attain an "embryonic community life"; or the promoters of this autonomy become "impatient" and search the solution in decrees – in the illusion of thus being able to force the capacity and readiness for responsible action. It may well be worthwhile to make the "relationship between school and autonomy in recent times" a subject of international comparison.

"Promoted autonomy" therefore requires caution and patience on the part of both the promoters and the addressees; it also implies being aware of the calculated risk of mistakes and setbacks to be effectively met only with enlightenment, advice, and an exemplary behaviour – virtues that one must also expect of the teacher in the classroom. Authoritarian persons who restrict themselves to preaching "autonomy" prevent the formation of an "embryonic community life". Analogous points apply to the attitude and the behaviour of "developed" towards so-called "under-developed" countries.

Promotion, caution, and patience are of course categories that are closely connected with the category of "time". In order to pursue this train of thought, please allow me to turn to the country and city whose guests we are today. The following reflections also aim at pointing to the interdependence between the education system and its general socio-economic, political, and cultural conditions.

We have come together in one of the oldest, most historic and most beautiful cities of Europe. The Praguians in fact consider their city as the most beautiful, at least on this continent, sharing this judgement with many visitors and friends, among them myself. As a political metropolis and a cultural centre, the city can look back upon manifold events witnessing human greatness as well as human failure and human misery. Three examples may serve to elucidate this contrariness.

Example 1: In the middle of the fourteenth century the city experienced a period of economic prosperity, extensive cultural activity, and internal and external peace under Charles IV, the "father of the nation" (otec vlasti). He was the founder of the first university on Central European ground and the building owner of many works of art, which we may admire until today. Yet, half a century later the Hussite wars, which lasted for more than 15 years, started from Prague, sparked by the so-called "first Defenestration of Prague".

Example 2: At the end of the seventeenth century major artists and scientists of European rank worked at the court of Rudolf II; the astronomers and humanists Tycho de Brahe and Johannes Kepler deserve special attention. Two decades later however, the Thirty Years' War started from this city, unleashed by the so-called "second Defenestration of Prague".

Example 3: The peaceful and constructive years of the first Czechoslovak Republic were followed by the terror of the German occupation forces; it found its most brutal expression in the extinction of the village of Lidice – in reaction to the successful attempt to assassinate the "Reichsprotektor" in office, SS-general Reinhard Heydrich. To be sure, this observation does not conclude the content of this example: the three seemingly calm years of a new democratic beginning (1945-48) were followed by the communist take-over, symbolised by the voluntary or enforced death of foreign minister Jan Masaryk, an event which has been called the "third Defenestration of Prague".

All three examples show the connections between Economic Development, Education, and Culture as well as a Humanism representing the necessary precondition for the progress of Democracy. At the same time, they tell of wars, atrocities, and oppressions.

Let me dwell on my historical excursion a bit longer, since the nine decades between 1848 and 1938, which I would like to examine more

closely, have not only had their impact on the history of this country but will also establish an exemplary connection with the theme of this World Congress. For Bohemia, Moravia, and southern Silesia, the so-called "Bohemian Lands", this period is characterised by economic awakening and high cultural activity. During this period the Czechs living in the Austrian part of the Habsburg monarchy as well as the Slovaks living under Hungarian rule developed and completed their constituting as modern nations.

In the "Bohemian Lands" the Czech "awakening" came about in confrontation with the dominating "second nation", the Germans. The conflicts in this dispute are one side of a medal, which on its other side shows the great advantages that both opponents gained from it. Thus, around the turn of the 19th to the 20th century great artists, poets, and writers of Czech, German, and – not to forget – Jewish descent lived in Prague. They reached worldwide fame either during their lifetime or, such as above all Franz Kafka, many years after their death. The second side of the medal also shows, however, the construction of an efficient system of education that put the "Bohemian Lands" into a leading position in Europe with regard to enrolment in elementary schools, duration of compulsory education, and teaching contents. Special attention is due to the development of a differentiated system of technical education and, finally, to the international reputation of the two universities of Prague; in 1882, the "Charles University" with its rich tradition, had been divided into a German- and a Czech-medium university.

On the one hand, the construction of the education system resulted from the school policies of the Habsburg Empire; on the other hand it was also a product of national competition. Here one can observe that beside its dark side of furthering nationalistic currents this competition reflects an expression, by both nations, of public spirit and initiative. Cultural associations, youth and sport clubs as much as a rich theatre life, which even extended into the small towns, bear witness of this expression. The first Czechoslovak Republic inherited the highly developed education system – with its strengths and of course also with its weaknesses. I do not want to indulge further into this period; instead, I will leave this field to my Czech and Slovak collegues, who possess a greater competency in this area. I would like to restrict myself only to some remarks, namely as a directly concerned witness of that time who spent his childhood and youth in this country and has kept track of its later long-suffering development – up to the "Velvet Revolution" – from a distance.

My contribution in this place is not aimed at the inside and outside of the first Czechoslovak Republic intensively and controversially discussed question of the nationalities and its share in the sad ending of this State. Rather it refers to the historical fact that, in spite of its inner weaknesses and unresolved problems, this State remained a democratic commonwealth until its extinction through the Munich Agreement and the German occupation half a year later. In this commonwealth legal protection, political freedom of coalition, and schools in the native tongues were guaranteed for all citizens and groups, i.e. also the members of those ethnic groups that did not belong to the "Czechoslovakian state nation": Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Ruthenians, and others.

We even need to go a step further: at its end, in 1938/39, the Czechoslovak Republic had survived as the only democratic State in Eastern Central and South-East Europe. At times, this Republic had to fend off fundamentally oppositional teachers. Viewed altogether however, manifold sources prove that in the field of education the spirit of inter-ethnic tolerance and the will to co-operate were comparably great, especially in the period of Ivan Derer, Minister of Public Education in the late twenties and early thirties of this century. In the Czech part of the country, Czech as well as German educators participated in the attempts at a school reform, which was initiated by Derer – and eventually failed because of "overriding" motives[4].

I can consider this problem today without restraint, because the failed attempt at developing a future-oriented co-existence of Czechs and Germans within the first Czechoslovak Republic has become an irreversible part of history through the German occupation and the expulsion of the German population in 1945, which it entailed. Also the protective rights, including the welcome establishment of their own schools, conferred on the small German minority – which has stayed behind – in the re-emerged democratic State, do not question this cesure.

This review does point, however, to chances, even if lost ones, that could have been taken on an per se existing fertile ground for economic stability, democratic structures of state and society, and a remarkable system of education. Not taking into account the dark effects originating from the "big political stage", to take these chances one would have

4 Mitter, W.: German Schools in Czechoslovakia 1918-1938. In: Tomiak, J. et al. (Eds.): Schooling, educational policy and ethnic minority. New York: New York University Press 1990, p. 220.

wished the Republic the "fifty-year-period" that Tomaš Masaryk, its first President, considered necessary for its peaceful consolidation; the Republic was granted only twenty years[5].

In our time twenty, even ten years seem to be too long to make us wait for the solution of the existential problems the whole globe is confronted with. The Conference of Rio de Janeiro has drastically underlined the need for radical re-considering strategies and policies in the area of environmental protection. It goes without saying that this re-consideration requires new approaches to Development, but at the same time to Democracy, unless the task to tie Development to fundamental values to be focussed upon Human Rights and Human Dignity is left to self-appointed or empowered "saviours". Finally, Development and Democracy depend upon the effectiveness of an Education which supports both of them to tie their functions to the fundamental human values I just have mentioned.

In this respect John Dewey is right. However, the world in which we live has little in common with the social framework within which Education could guide children and adolescents from their "embryonic community life" to the "larger society" with its socio-economic and political foundations. On the contrary, in many cases Education has entered or has been forced into an unholy alliance with that fanatic and violent nationalism and racism which inevitably ends up in misery, distress and bloodshed. In this context I can dispense with concrete recent and current examples, since they are too visible and horrible to be ignored.

Education is directly involved in this anti-human perversion of Dewey's model. It might be worth inquiring how many teachers, university professors and priests take an active part in committing cruelties on innocent people, women and children included. Furthermore, many of those who do not make their own hands dirty, incite their students to fanatism, hatred and intolerance, not only by appealing to their emotions, but also by misusing their cognitive disposition and receptivity for indoctrinating totalitarian or racist ideologies.

Fortunately, experience also draws our attention to educational theorists and practitioners who are committed to approaching and tackling De-

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5 Ivan Pfaff in: Die Zeit, 18.9.1987, p. 68. Cf. Mitter, W.: Civic education in German schools in Czechoslovakia (1918-1938) in the mirror of loyalty conflict. In: Karady, V./Mitter, W. (Eds.): Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Köln, Wien: Böhlau 1990, p. 72.

velopment and Democracy upon the base of fundamental human values. It is this experience which justifies, in my mind, our efforts to explore and discuss the interdependence of Development, Democracy and Education. It invites us to pay particular attention to the crucial and controversial issues of this interrelationship as well as to the factors resisting or impeding reasonable solutions. Finally, it makes us think of how theoretical or philosophic models, like that presented by John Dewey, can be transferred to reality and, vice versa, how practical experience can stimulate our search for new evidence. Let us hope for good discussions and results during our Congress in this beautiful, historic and dynamic town.

* This is the English version of the original consisting of an English, French and Czech section; the paper has also been published in its German and Czech version:
Erziehung, Demokratie und Entwicklung in einer Periode revolutionären Wandels. In: Bildung und Erziehung, 45 (1992) 4, pp. 477-487.
Výchova, democracie a vývoj v období revolučních změn. In: Pedagogika, 43 (1993) 1, pp. 3-8.

I. Europäische Gemeinschaft/European Community

Christoph Kodron

European Dimension, Multiculturalism, and Teacher Training – Experience in a Network of Training Institutions

Summary:

The first part gives a short description of the development of the Network of Institutes of Teacher Education and Training (Reseau d'Institutions de Formation = R.I.F.) in the member states of the European Community. The second part at first summarizes the development and the problems of the sectional network that has been created around the subject "European Dimension and Multiculturalism". The first four-week student seminar that was developed and organised there is delineated and some forceful as well as some problematic aspects are presented. The third and last part discusses problems and perspectives for further developments.

Europäische Dimension, Multikulturalität und Lehrerausbildung – Erfahrungen in einem Netzwerk von Ausbildungsstätten

Zusammenfassung:

Im ersten Teil wird die Entstehung des Netzwerkes von Lehrerausbildungsinstitutionen (Reseau d'Institutions de Formation = R.I.F.) in den Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft kurz dargestellt. Der zweite Teil faßt zunächst beispielhaft die Entstehung und Probleme in dem Teilnetzwerk zusammen, das sich zum Thema "Europäische Dimension und Multikulturalität" gebildet hat. Das erste dort gemeinsam entwickelte und ausgerichtete vierwöchige multilaterale Studentenseminar wird in seinen Grundzügen beschrieben und einige starke, wie auch problematische Aspekte werden aufgezeigt. Im dritten und letzten Teil werden Probleme und Perspektiven für eine Weiterentwicklung diskutiert.

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1. The Development of the Network of Training Institutions (Reseau d'Institution de Formation – R.I.F.)

For a long time the Commission of the European Communities has expressed its interest in strengthening exchanges and mobility in general as well as in introducing the European dimension into the school system and education. There are basic differences between the twelve member states of the European Community especially in the field and structure of schools and teacher education. Education is taken up by the EC for the first time in the Maastricht treaty. Very few minor competencies will be transferred to the European Community. The member states keep the overall competence in the field of educational policy. The EC has some influence because it finances special programmes connected with the field of education, such as vocational training, the mobility of the labour force and the introduction of European diplomas by co-operating universities in different countries and co-operation related to the EC-regulations on the mutual recognition of diplomas in higher education.

These EC-regulations on the mutual recognition define the rules for mutually recognizing the university diplomas of other member states. They include those for teachers, having a minimum training of 3 years in an institution of higher education and they specify the additional requirements needed for recognition, although several states still have to submit their stipulations.

In order to promote co-operation and exchange, the Community developed many programmes for the field of education, such as ERASMUS, LINGUA and ARION.

In May 1988 the Ministers of Education of the Member States of the European Community adopted a resolution concerning the introduction of the *European Dimension* in education, in which teacher training is especially mentioned. This resolution introduces a so-called "European University" for the period from 1989 to 1992.

There are some major reasons which lead the Commission to support and to undertake special initiatives in teacher education:

- the idea that education and training should take the European dimension into account so as to contribute to the development of a European identity;

- only few innovations in the school curricula were introduced by the member states;
- in the national teacher training systems, no major changes in orientation towards Europe were visible;
- the study by Mice BRUCE (1989) pointed out that future teachers are under-represented in the exchange activities supported by ERASMUS, and
- connections and co-operation between the teacher training institutions of the EC were rather rare.

In view of this situation the first European University of 1989 held at the Hogeschool Interstudie in Nijmegen (Netherlands) proposed the idea of setting up a network of teacher training institutions in order to promote the European Dimension in Education by direct co-operation between trainers and their institutions. With the help of the Commission of the European Communities teacher training institutions in all member states of the European Community were asked by mail if they were interested in joining such a network and if so, in which fields they were particularly interested. From their answers 14 themes were identified as being of common interest to the groups of training institutions. The themes which were eventually taken up in individual sub-networks were:

- European citizenship;
- the European Dimension in education, human rights and values;
- the training of school directors towards a European Dimension;
- the comparison of educational and teacher training systems;
- the development of a basic curriculum on European Dimension for primary schools;
- the development of a basic curriculum on European Dimension for secondary schools;
- elaboration and sharing of teaching materials for the social sciences;
- elaboration and sharing of materials for science teaching;
- learning foreign languages for a better European Dimension in education;
- the European Dimension and new technologies;
- Europe and the cultural patrimony (heritage);
- the European Dimension and environmental education;
- the European Dimension and multiculturalism;
- the European Dimension and the integration of disabled children or children having difficulties at school.

To recruit coordinators for the groups of institutions interested in a common theme, mainly those institutions which participated in the first European University were approached. Beside this, it was decided that the two coordinators of each sub-network should preferably come from different kinds of institutions and different member states. It is important to note that these sub-networks were set up around individual themes. The coordinators and members were not chosen according to the type of teachers they train or the formal status of the institution. Thus, very different kinds of institutions came together, not only institutions from the higher education sector (which are eligible for ERASMUS) but also in-service training institutions or research institutions working in this field.

Those persons who were accepted for coordination met for the first time in May 1990 in Brussels following an invitation by the Commission of the European Communities. The discussions showed clearly that the introduction of a European Dimension into initial and in-service teacher training was regarded as a common aim. All participants also agreed that it would be better to act as one network and to use sub-networks for concrete work only than to attempt to keep each other informed in the hope of achiving mutual insights that would be of advantage for the joint progress of all.

Therefore all agreed to ask the Commission for developing a special programme for the whole sector of teacher education in order to meet the specific needs of this field. This was done to take into account the fact that teacher training systems differ to a large extend and have comparatively special regulations and restrictions and also that the aim of teacher education is teaching. So the introduction of a *European Dimension* should come first, whereas mobility of persons (as aimed by ERASMUS) could only be a tool for broadening the mind, for developing mutual understanding by making personal experiences in another country, and by joint projects so as to develope shared views and – where possible – teaching materials potentially useful in different school systems.

But the developments soon showed, that a special programme for teacher education is not (yet?) possible. Financial aid by the European Community is only possible if the projects of the networks fit into existing programmes, such as ERASMUS. This was and is a major problem, not only because some of the institutions within the network are not eligible for these programmes. ERASMUS only provides money for the sector of higher education, linking its support to the status of university teacher and students of such institutions. Thus the whole sector of in-service train-

ing of teachers is excluded. But all network coordinators agreed that precisely this field of training for the millions of teachers working in schools should not be excluded if one wants to introduce a European Dimension into the classroom. Furthermore the professional, practical part of the initial training of teachers is not supported and has to be financed by other sources if it is not provided by universities but by specialised institutions or schools as is the case in the Federal Republic of Germany for example.

This was a bitter set back for many of our first plans, but the Commission of the European Communities secured the continuation and future development of the whole network by financing two annual meetings for the coordinators and by the allotment of some money for the coordination and basic functioning of each sub-network. With this money it was possible to maintain the entire network as a unit which today has approximately 150 members. The Commission of European Communities also regards the R.I.F. as an advisory body and a resource for all fields related to teacher training and the European Dimension. R.I.F. was therefore also asked to organise the summer university in 1993, to spread the idea of networking in the field of teacher training, to inform a broader professional public of the experiences gained, and to submit the results to professional critique.

Our future intention is to establish an (additional) European Diploma in Teacher Education for the European Dimension. We conceptualised a moduled course with a common core of prescribed subjects chosen from the 14 themes mentioned above (e.g. European Dimension and new technologies).

During the last year every sub-network developed a specific plan of action to advance the European Dimension in the specific theme they are working on. Some gathered and disseminated specific information, e.g. about the curricula in the diverse teacher training systems, others collaboratively developed teaching materials or teaching units for teacher training or for school teaching. Four sub-networks began a pilot project in the academic year 1991/92 which includes the aspect of mobility with a financial grant by ERASMUS. These four networks deal with issues concerning curricula, European citizenship, enviromental education and multi culturalism from the perspective of the European Dimension.

2 The sub-network: European Dimension and Multiculturalism

The first list of 16 interested teacher training institutions was comparatively long. However, first attempts at collecting useful information about the status of the training institution, the number of students in different types of teacher education, the institutional and private addresses of persons in charge of the co-operations, and their knowledge of languages showed that nearly half of these institutions did not respond. But other institutions on hearing of this new initiative asked to join. Now 15 institutions are members of this sub-network, which seems too large for personal coordination and good co-operation, but is of advantage in situations in which some institutions are prevented from participating in activities, usually because of time problems (holidays, examinations, special study duties etc.).

One difficulty was and is that the interest in this theme is concentrated in the northern countries, whith Portugal, France, Italy and Greece completely unrepresented. From France one institution joined at the beginning of this year. The absence of France was mainly caused by the changes in the institutional framework (closing of the "école normale" and introducing the "Institut universitaire pour la formation des maitres" – I.U.F.M.). It seems that mainly those teacher training institutions joined the network which have a small number of staff members or are part of a huge university, organising the entire of teacher training as a separate, distinct unit (colleges, departments). If there are major changes the persons tend to leave the network or suspend their membership for some time.

The fact, that all of the members define main interests differently, should be seen as a challenge to develop a common pedagogical view and methodology. The main interests vary according to local needs in teacher training and/or teaching requirements, but also according to the training, interests and teaching subjects of the persons involved in the co-operation. Some have the pimary objective of developing mutual knowledge and co-operation between the traditional European cultures of the states, some focus their interest primarily on knowing and respecting traditional territorial minorities, while others see newly arrived immigrants and the pedagogical implications as their main emphasis.

This is not seen as a disadvantage. On the contrary, from a pedagogical point of view these different types of challenges in a new Europe have

similar underlying problems, share the main perspectives and the pedagogical methods for dealing with these questions are very similar.

2.1 Four-week Student Seminar: a First-hand Account

Apart from intensive exchange of information we planned and executed the first four-week student seminar in the ICP (Inter-university Cooperation Programme) of the ERASMUS scheme, organised and conducted by the Guardini Instituut of Hoger Pedagogisch Onderwijs in Brussels.

This predominantly experimental seminar was based on the following principles of organisational arrangements:

1) The student seminar will comprise the same number of students (8) from the host institution and two students of every foreign institutions (8, making up a group total of 16) so that they can work in a bi-national tandem.
2) During the first two weeks the foreign students will live with the families of host students, the last two weeks all students will stay in the same hotel, thus living and working together intensively.
3) Lectures will basically be provided by the host-institution, but also by trainers from other institutions of the network, not only by those institutions whose students are attending.
4) Students should prepare themselves and prepare materials to work on e.g. a video.
5) Students other than those personally participating should be involved during the preparation period.
6) After the seminar the organisers should receive a feedback by the students and they should also disseminate their experiences in their own training institution.

It was agreed that students should not be chosen on the basis of their good knowledge of English, but that they should know some foreign language. They were not chosen with respect to a particular field of teaching (e.g. future primary teachers) nor with regard to the special subject of study. We thought that as we were dealing with the "European Dimension and Multiculturalism" not only students with a good command of English should participate, but also – taking into account our main theme: multi culturalism – those that were members of ethnic minorities.

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However, it might be a weakness that up to now there has not been enough time to discuss and really decide in concert on the aim of our activities, neither on the division into the teaching fields mentioned (official cultures, old or new minorities) nor in the sense of what should be developed, even though the majority seemed to tend toward the following as first possibilities:

- do we intend to develop a new type of European pedagogical training seminar for future teachers by taking the multi-lingual and multicultural situation as the starting-point for a new conception of teaching and learning style that should developed or
- do we intend to organise seminars in some traditional way by for example selecting students and teaching staff members in advance on the basis of their abilities in the English language and choosing lectures and materials effective in one national setting only?

Bearing in mind the notion of "Interculturalism and Multi-culturalism", the working concept was based on the principle of comparison, bringing the students together in everyday life and by joint work. In concrete, three dimensions should be examined:

1) Contexts (differences and similarities in housing, meals, clothes etc.).
2) Prejudices (illustrated by examples taken from national, group related or personal ones).
3) Behaviour and conventional habits (organisation of time and space, preferences in leisure activities etc.).

The content of the seminar comprised:

1) Informing the other students about their own teacher training.
2) Information about a) the school system, teacher training and minorities in Brussels and Belgium; b) institutions of the EC, and c) visiting schools (European School, Flemish schools).
3) Daily lessons in the Dutch language during the first weeks.
4) Lessons about key themes such as European Dimension, stereotypes, prejudice, cultural games.
5) Preparing lessons with European / multicultural content in small mixed groups to be taught at schools in Brussels.
6) Some cultural excursions to the Walloon and to the Flemish part of Belgium, cultural events etc.

The preparatory work of the students should include producing a video about their student life and the locations of their training, teaching at a school and interviews with minority groups, as well as collecting articles about Belgium and Brussels and preparing some topics for lessons.

Mainly due to the fact that the information, that this seminar would be financially supported, was arriving very late, the concrete preparation was not always as it was planned. Time table constrains hindered to meet as it was thought before and to concretly plan the common teaching. Therefore the planning of the teaching was done commonly in a general way, but the concretisation and coordination was left to the few teacher trainers beeing able to come together.

Also the recruitment of students was not easy for some of the institutions. For some institutions it was clear from the beginning, that such a seminar abroad could not be recogniced within the existing training schema, so their students only could come in holidays. Only students coming from institutions in the Netherlands knew from the beginning, that the seminar would officially be recognised for their study. For German students the final decision for the seminar was too late for organising the foor weak absence in the full study term, due to the fact that there was no possibility to include the stay abroad officialy into the study requirements, even though under some circumstances it is possible to be away from the university during the semester. In other cases students being in the real situation for decision recognised many problems hindering the attendence such as leaving for four weeks would cause a loss of their job, by which they (partly) finance their study but also family or study related or personal problems.

2.2 Evaluative and Comparing Remarks

Even though the final evaluation will be done in September, I can say already that this seminar was successful and all students were completely satisfied about having participated. Nearly every student wrote positive sentences in his evaluation such as: "It was a unique and fruitful experience in my professional training." "These weeks revealed many basic things about myself and living together." "I always thought that we (British and Belgians) are living in a similar way and did not imagine the differences I experienced in the family where I was, e.g. meal habits, living styles and perspectives." "Before this experience I really did not know what European Dimension could mean for me. Now I am curious to teach some time in another country."

There were many very positive aspects specially dealing with living together in a family, living and working together in the hotel and things related to school visits and the own teaching as a bi-cultural team in schools, a lot of information and various experiences. Especially some more personal experiences seem to be related to previous experience in a foreign setting and on expectations. It might also be true that the kind of preparation is playing a role, for example, if the students expect special "Belgian" things or they are only expecting that they should adapt and learn a lot of new, unexpected things. Also some of the teaching contents were mentioned as very positive, so about prejudices, European Dimension, what could be the European Dimension, and the cultural game. The lessons in Dutch found a very conflicting judgement by the students. Some found it very helpful revealing to them how a pupil feels not knowing a language very well, some mentioned it positively as a tool to get a better understanding of the environment in Brussels and as serving at least in the classroom situation, for others it was just boring, lost time.

Beside the many positive points also some harsh critics were given to the content. Some considered the Dutch lessons to be uselessly spoiled time as they will never have the opportunity to use it again. But more mentioned that for them the connection between different lessons dealing with "European Dimension", "Multiculturalism", or "intercultural learning" was not clear at all. They asked for a clearer concept about what is "European Dimension", how is the connection between the nationalities and the minorities, what is "multi-" and what is "intercultural". This critique was nearly always also referring to extremely different teaching styles students know from their own training institution (and also what they experienced in schools) and what the different trainers used during the seminar. The freedom and autonomy of a student in every day life, in study and in the usage of teaching methods seem to be very different. As expected, nearly all students reclaimed having had not enough time for discussing together, the programme beeing too full, especially by cultural events, which some would like to see only as a free offer.

A special problematic area was the planned co-operation in teaching between the trainers of different institutions. There were two major problems. For co-teaching one needs a direct communicative common planning. Having only little money for preparation, was only one problem, the other one was the extrem difficulty to find suitable days for every trainer for common preparation. Due to these difficulties only those of the trainers who were living quite near to Brussels met more than once for concrete planning.

A major problem, revealed only during the seminar, were the different teaching styles and different teaching orientations, partly due to different professional subjects, partly due to different perspectives and objectives of teacher education, partly, as always, due to personal factors.

I don't want to treat the language question in great depth, I only want to point out that for a multilingual situation lecturing seems to be quite problematic, whatever the chosen language is. *What is needed are extreemly well prepared special lessons designed for the multilingual setting* using a lot of different materials, different learning and working settings for the students, best carried through by active methods.

3. Underlying Problems and Outlook

I got the idea, that some of our main problems are related to the following reflections:

It seems to me, that the introduction of an obligatory school system after the French revolution was promoting in the majority of all European States one (national) language, common values and a common national feeling by revealing distinctions to other states and cultures. Often this was also bound to one religion. In this development the suppression of minorities, especially language minorities, seemed to be general. At the same time the outside boundaries were enforced due to the development of a national educational system, increased by the introduction of special examinations even in the university sector and followed by engaging almost only such persons who had received the proper national schooling and training. Even though the EC regulations are in power since more than a year, I cannot see any remarkable change yet.

I got the impression that the introduction of national training systems for teachers, especially for the teachers of the great majority of the population, was largely used for building and bringing up all ideas of the given national state. It seems to me, that for this process it was largely irrelevant if school and teacher training was under the responsibility of the state or in the hand of a church. Taking this into account, one can say that in every European country one of the major objectives of schooling was the unification of a given national population and to built – in facts and in thinking – clear boundaries to neighbouring states, languages and cultures. This old developed and grown direction for education is always persisting mainly by the fact that it has influenced all sectors, structures and con-

tents of education, that we tend – even today – to take some of our own national traditions as an general, universal one or as the only valid one. Thus, today we face many problems when trying to set up a common student seminar in the normal study time and to be recognised as a valid part of training. Even for the trainers cooperative working with colleagues in another country is often not officially recognised. Only few training institutions have scheduled posts, paid time or other subsidies for co-operation. Thus co-operation tends to be at the last rank of duties or is no official duty at all. Most of our colleagues in the network only can work by investing private time and money.

Beside the development of clear distinctions by the different national systems, some common general ideas based in the shared past of Latin, Grecian, Christian and humanist tradition were put forward by all the well known great pedagogues from Jan Komensky onwards to our times. Thus some of these ideals were also transported into the school mainly in secondary schools for a smaller elite. But this teaching seemed to be not very effective, transmitting mainly idealistic ideas, and thus they did not get much influence on life and politics. But nevertheless, we can refer to them and specially built on the large work of the Council of Europe based on the European Convention of Basic Human Rights of 1950.

Today, all member states of the European Community are multicultural in one or more dimension of culture, language, ethnicity or religion. Some have always been multicultural in this sense, mainly without accepting this officially or only accepting this partly for example in the religious sector. Others have been becoming multicultural since the second world war by migration. But in many states or regions the multicultural setting is only a fact for the pupils, not for the teaching staff, which is for several causes staying mono-cultural. Compared with the teaching staff, many classes are multi-lingual and multicultural. Looking at the teaching reality in schools the so often heard political message, 'that cultural and linguistic diversity is a richness for Europe, which should be kept', sounds a purely idealistic slogan.

To achieve change and really bring a European Dimension and perspective into the just mentioned fields we would need major political inputs and changing political issues. Instead of narrow-minded precisely described training programmes, teacher training needs more freedom to build up a flexible professional training which is open for exchange, study and training in another country and even common study modules. But we also need much more pedagogical, didactical inputs.

In the network we made a first step to developed a method for direct co-operative seminars and some elements of a pedagogy for co-operation. The main principles on which we based our work seemed to be valid. One major question still is the use of language(s) and the demand for a "lingua franca". Here we have not a common opinion, some vote, for practical reasons, to take English as the only required language, others think of two vehicular languages such as English and French. I am convinced, that we should trust much more in the diverse communicative competence of our students and not administratively imposing from the beginning a working language, thus thinking to solve the problem. But we should put a lot of energy into

1) the development of teaching methods using other communicative ways than only language by opting for a multi-lingual situation as a concept, and also
2) the development of learning/instruction strategies for teacher training which are much less based on lecturing and speaking, and
3) the reformation of our (foreign) language teaching by broadening the learning of one language by introducing the multiple connections in using metaphors, in common basics and loanwords up to teach about the neighbouring languages, and
4) the inspection of our own cultural identity in depth and thus discovering the multiplicity of common interconnected developments. (Only Adam had a unique own culture!)

If we agree that Europeans have to come closer together and that Europe should have a peaceful future we have to develop multiple co-operations between people and a pedagogical strategy for and a methodology in intercultural learning in all sectors of education for the multicultural European society. If we fail, unpeaceful (re-)developments are surely to become more likely.

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Ulrich Schäfer

Democratic Legitimation and the Educational Policy of the European Community

Summary:

On the 7th of February 1992 the Member States of the European Community signed the „Treaty on European Union" at Maastricht, in order to advance European integration. This new treaty explicitly grants the European Community the right to take action in the field of education for the first time. In the light of this event the present article deals with the historical development of the educational policy of the Community, especially on how competencies missing in the field of education were introduced „through the back-door". As this is just one example of how the community acts without having the legitimation to do so, the discussion is conducted within the wider context of the „democratic deficit" of European Community policy in general.

Demokratische Legitimation und die Bildungspolitik der Europäischen Gemeinschaft

Zusammenfassung:

Am 7. Februar 1992 unterzeichneten die Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft in Maastricht den „Vertrag über die Europäische Union" und unternahmen damit einen Schritt zur weiteren Europäischen Integration. In diesem neuen Vertrag erhält die Europäische Gemeinschaft erstmals ausdrücklich das Recht zugesprochen, im Bildungssektor politisch tätig zu werden. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird im vorliegenden Aufsatz die bisherige Entwicklung der Bildungspolitik der Gemeinschaft behandelt, insbesondere die Art und Weise, wie fehlende Kompetenzen „durch die Hintertür" eingeführt wurden. Da dies nur ein Beispiel für Gemeinschaftsaktivitäten ohne entsprechende Legitimation ist, erfolgt die Diskussion im weiteren Kontext des „demokratischen Defizits" der Politik der Europäischen Gemeinschaft insgesamt.

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When I handed in my proposal for today's speech I did not expect that its subject would be outdated to some degree at the date of its delivery. Like most other people I did not doubt that the „Treaty on European Union" signed by the representatives of the 12 Member States of the European Community (EC) at Maastricht (Netherlands) on 7 February 1992 – the so-called „Maastricht Treaty" – would be ratified by the Member States during 1992 and become effective by the 1st of January 1993. But on the 2nd of June the Danish people said „nej" in their referendum and thus stopped or (as some commentators argue) even buried the treaty. If the latter is true – and reasonable arguments support this thesis – would it be senseless at least to take a glance at the role that education and training play in the treaty? I do not think so. First, there will be some new treaty sooner or later which may not be very different. Second, a look at the treaty's educational aspects helps us to achieve a better understanding of the developments as well as the present state of the European Community's educational policy.

The following examination will be made in terms of the democratic legitimation of EC educational policy, which raises the question of the democratic legimation of EC policy in general. In dealing with this problem, it may be helpful to identify some possible reasons determining the Danes' vote. Certainly there was a psychological factor: the politicians were not able to explain clearly to the people what they would gain by the new European Union while at the same time giving up a lot, namely another substantial part of their sovereignty. But besides this, there are well-founded reasons that could influence every prudent person – even a true supporter of the idea of a united Europe – to try to slow down the further development of the European Community.

First, the democratic legitimation of EC policies is rather weak. Second, we can observe an arrogance of power that is enacted by Euro-politicians within both the bureaucratic structures of the Community's institutions in Brussels and the national bureaucracies in the Member States that take part in the decision-making of the Community.

The latter is well demonstrated by the behaviour displayed by politicians after the Danish vote. At first, all were shocked but then they proceeded with the day-to-day politics as if nothing had happened. This may be interpretable as a manifestation of the „burying one's the head in the sand" pattern of human behaviour. But now persisting in asking the states that have applied for membership in the Community to join on the basis of the Maastricht Treaty shows a severe lack of democratic sensibility.

On top of that, the suggestion to have the Danes vote again and again till they produce the expected result does not help to reduce the doubts about the attitudes leading EC politicians have toward democracy.

But far more serious is the „democratic deficit" grounded in the very nature of the Community's structure and in the internal dynamics of the integration process. The first problem is rooted in the fact that, as an so-called supranational organisation, the European Community (which, strictly speaking, consists of 3 communities – the European Economic Community, the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Atomic Energy Community – which have joint institutions) is something without a historical precedent. As such, the Community is neither a federation (like Germany or the United States of America) nor an international organisation (like the UNESCO, the OECD or the Council of Europe). It may well be described as mixture of both: on the one hand it is an organisation founded by several independent states on the basis of treaties according to international law; on the other hand it is credited with powers normally only given to a state. Especially in certain cases it has the right to pass legislation that is binding over the Member States and the people living there, without approval by national parliaments.

And here the problem of the un-sufficiently democratic legitimation of EC policy arises. On entering the European Community the Member States gave up their legislative competencies in some fields of policy, in the beginning mainly in the realm of economy. This means, that some laws which were previously passed by national parliaments are now being passed by an institution of the supranational organisation. But this institution is not a parliament established by direct universal suffrage. The Community's institution that has the final power of decision in passing legislation is the so-called Council of Ministers. This Council consists of representatives of the national governments (e.g. the Ministers of Education, when educational matters are decided). So we have the situation that the governments themselves pass the laws upon which they act – a situation some people call „pre-democratic" because the legislative and executive powers rest in the same hands.

It is true, that there is a European Parliament, elected by direct universal suffrage. But it does not pass laws. It only has to be consulted during the process of legislation. This happens by different procedures but to deal with them in detail here is neither possible nor necessary. However, the brute fact remains that the Council has the final power of decision as it can neglect the Parliament's wishes by unanimous decision. The changes

provided for in the Maastricht Treaty would not have altered this much: although a new form of parliamentary co-operation would have been introduced which implied receiving the power to finally prevent a law, this would only have applied to a very few cases. It would not have concerned the vast majority of laws interferring with the every-day life of the citizens in the member states. Thus, the separation-of-powers principle that guides the conception of democracy in the parliamentary democracies of the West is abandoned.

And yet another necessary feature of democracy is not found in the European Community: the sovereignty of the people. In a state with parliamentary democracy the people only delegate their power to parliament. And through the parliament they elect their government. So the people – although not as whole but through their representatives – make the laws they have to follow, and govern themselves. And through the elective act the people can change this government. All this is not possible in the European Community. Once the national parliaments had ratified the founding treaties of the European Community the sovereign rights were given away without being compensated for by a European Parliament that has the same powers as the national parliaments. This means, that any step toward further European integration within the European Community that does not establish a European federation with full parliamentary powers in the area of legislation will not reduce the „democratic deficit".

Another aspect of the „democratic deficit" is rooted in the European Community's nature of being a community „on the way". When the European Economic Community (which more or less constitutes the European Community due to its powers and the range of policy issues it deals with) was founded it was only the second-best solution compared to the far reaching visions of the United States of Europe which appeared necessary to prevent another war in Europe. After a first attempt to create a European Political Community had failed in 1952 (at that time due to the resistance of the French parliament) it was decided to begin with an economic community, thus initiating a process finally leading to a European federation.

The „Treaty establishing the European Economic Community" in 1957 only gave the Community powers in the area of economics, especially in the fields of agriculture and foreign trade. The objectives of the Community were laid down in Article 2 of the Treaty: „. . . to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a

continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between the States belonging to it". Certain precisely defined powers were transferred from the States to the Community to enable it to achieve these objectives.

Furthermore, it was granted the power to take (by unanimous decision of the Council) the measures which should prove to be necessary to attain the objectives, although the power to do so was not explicitly laid down in the Treaty (Article 235 of the Treaty). This – to a certain extend – gave the Community the right to extend its scope of policies without even consulting the national parliaments. In this process the European Court of Justice decides what ultimately falls within the Communitiy's sphere of competencies (which especially applies to the field of educational policy). This lead to a chronic erosion of the sovereignty of the peoples of the Member States.

As a result of these developments the original Treaties were revised in the Single European Act of 1985, transferring competencies to the Community for action in new fields of policy (e.g. environment, research etc. – but not education). The objective of the Single European Act was to create a Single Market in the Community. The measures taken to achieve this showed once again that many additional competencies will have to be transferred if the new step toward integration was not to remain uncompleted. This in turn lead to the Maastricht Treaty whose objective is the establishment of an economic and monetary union. This Treaty would once more have given new competencies to the Community without giving the European Parliament the full power of control.

The Maastricht Treaty in particular would have given the Community direct competencies for action in the field of education for the first time. But this would merely have been a ratification of measures which have already been taken as will become evident when looking at the original competencies laid down in the founding Treaties and the historical development of EC policy in the field of education and training.

The „Treaty establishing the European Economic Community" (EEC Treaty) does not contain articles on the direct competency of the Community in the field of education, nor do the other treaties. In the 1950s education was considered to be too sensitive an issue to be included in the Treaties. The founding countries of the Community believed it was unsuitable that a field so diverse and deeply rooted in the national identity should be subject to supranational decision-making. However, the

treaties did comprise some competencies in the field of vocational training. So e.g. Article 56 of the „Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community" (ECSC Treaty) of 1951 allows „the financing of vocational retraining for workers having to change their employment".

However, the central article in terms of a vocational training policy of the Community is Article 128 of the EEC Treaty, in its section on social policy. The article reads: „The Council shall . . . lay down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy capable of contributing to the harmonious development both of the national economies and of the common market". It was followed by the „Council decision of 2 April 1963 laying down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy (63/266/EEC)". In essence, vocational training policy was seen here as an instrument for encouraging the mobility of the labour force across the six Member States of that time. But these general principles did not lead to much action in the field of vocational training policy. Other issues were much more important then.

But new factors appeared. The free movement for workers within the community, which was part of the Treaty (Articles 48-51), had made it necessary to give migrant workers the same social rights as national workers, inter alia the right of access to vocational training. This was granted in the EEC Regulation No 1612/68 of 15 October 1968. It was the first instance of giving the Community competencies in the field of vocational training by using other, „hidden" competencies.

The early 70s saw a community which had reached its first main objective, the establishment of a common market. Now, new fields of action were sought, that could add momentum to the process of European integration. It was recognised that the Community could not simply remain an economic union but had to become a cultural community as well, in order to gain the support of the citizens.

Dealing with all activities of the European Community in the field of Education that followed, would go beyond the scope of this contribution. Therefore, I shall concentrate on the most important developments which give an indication of the directions the policies were taking.

The new interest in education lead to the establishment of a special new Directorate-General 'Research, Science and Education' in 1973 and to two reports exploring the objectives and possibilities of an education policy for the European Community. These reports were the basis of the „Ac-

tion Programme in the Field of Education" of 1976. It included the following action:

- „better facilties for the education and training of nationals and the children of nationals of other Member States of the Communities and of non-communities countries;
- promotion of closer relations between educational systems in Europe;
- compilation of the up-to-date documentation and statistics on education;
- cooperation in the field of higher education;
- teaching of foreign languages;
- achievement of equal opportunity for the free access to all forms of education" (European Community 1987, pp. 24-27).

Most important from the standpoint of policy legitimation is the first use of the so-called „mixed formula", i.e. that the Resolution on the action programme was formally made by the „Council and the Ministers for Education", and not by the institution of the Community alone, thus reflecting the fact that the Community had no general competencies in the field of education.

In 1977 the first intervention of the Community in the internal educational policies of the Member States occured. On 25 July the Council issued a Directive (77/486/EEC) on the education of the children of migrant workers. It committed the Member States to providing free tuition for these children in order to integrate them. This included „teaching of the language of the host State . . . teaching of the mother tongue and the culture of origin . . . and training and further training of the teachers providing the tuition" (ibid., p. 37). This Directive (a Community law binding over the Member States) was not based on Community competencies in education (as there are none) but again on the principle of the free movement of workers. It would be interesting to see if such a Directive would be possible under the Maastricht Treaty which explicitly leaves the responsibility for the content of teaching to Member States.

The 70s also saw the beginning of another Community action interferring with the educational policy of the Member States based on „indirect" competencies. According to Article 57 of the EEC Treaty the Council can „issue directives for the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualifications" in order to facilitate the establishment of professionals in other Member States of the Community. These Directives include the co-ordination of training for the professions and

the harmonisation of the content of courses, thus interferring with educational policies of the Member States. After having issued several sectional Directives (doctors, nurses, dentists, veterinary surgeons, midwives, pharmacists and architects) during the 70s and the 80s the policy of harmonisation came to an end, when on 21 December 1989 the Council issued the „Directive on a general system for the recognition of higher-education diplomas awarded on completion of professional education and training of at least three years duration (89/48/EEC)".

The early 80s did not see many innovations in the field of EC educational policy. Worth mentioning, however, is the recognition of the impact of the new technologies for education and training.

During that time the role the European Court of Justice played in identifying the extent to which direct and indirect Community competencies intervene in the education systems of the Member States was prominent. One central judgement in this respect was the Gravier judgement of 1985. The plaintiff in this case was a young French woman studying strip cartoon art at the Académie des Beaux Arts at Liège, where she – as a foreigner – was charged a registration fee not imposed on Belgian students. The European Court had to decide if this fee represented a form of discrimation on the grounds of nationality which is prohibited by Article 7 EEC Treaty, „within the scope of the Treaty". The Court ruled in favour of the plaintiff.

A detailed exegesis of the judgement should be left to law experts. However, interesting with respect to the legal basis of Community competencies in the field of education and training are some of the arguments on which the Court based its ruling. It opined that „although educational organization and policy are not as such included in the spheres which the Treaty has entrusted to the Community institutions, access to and participation in courses of instruction and apprenticeship, in particular vocational training, are not unconnected with Community law" (Françoise Gravier 1985, p. 612). So, by decision of the Court of Justice, education came within „the scope of application of the Treaty" (ibid., p. 613) through the 'back-door'. Another feature of this judgement was the extension of the meaning of the term 'vocational training'. In the Court's view university education is also 'vocational training', thus within the scope of Article 128 of the EEC Treaty. There are other interesting aspects of the judgement, but the examples quoted suffice to show how competencies, not explicitly included in the text of the Treaty, are given to the Com-

munity by the Court. Later judgements following the same strategy underpinned this.

As for Community policy, the year 1985 marked a turning-point. In the wake of the Single European Act both the interest in and the financing of educational action programmes increased. The intended establishment of a Single Market brought education and training into a wider policy planning context. Faced with competition from the United States and Japan in the field of high technology the Community now viewed education and training as an excellent way of creating highly qualified „Human Resources". Central to this concept is the mobility of workers, especially those with high-level qualifications.

The outcome of this new view of the role of education and training were such programmes as COMETT (co-operation of universities and industry in the area of technology), ERASMUS (mobility of university members) and LINGUA (promotion of foreign language knowledge). Additional current programmes comprise the preparation of young people for working and adult life (PETRA), the introduction of information technologies into vocational training (EUROTECNET), youth exchange (YOUTH FOR EUROPE), the promotion of equality of chances in the vocational training of women (IRIS), continuing vocational training (FORCE) and several others. Other action aims at supporting the new democracies in middle and eastern Europe (TEMPUS, European Foundation for Vocational Educational).

At the beginning of the 90s the European Community's policy in the field of education and training had reached such an extent, that it became necessary to replace its hitherto predominantly „indirect" legal basis by explicitly embodying it into the EEC Treaty. This would have been possible through the Maastricht Treaty.

But, as it does not seem very certain that this Treaty will become effective, dealing with the new EEC Treaty's Articles 126 and 127 (Education, Vocational Training and Youth) in detail does not appear to be very useful. In general, they seem merely to approve those actions already taken by the Community, while laying down the limits of the Community's policy.

So, for example, Article 126 states that the action of the Community in the field of education should be aimed at „encouraging mobility of students and teachers" (TREATY, p. 46), which already is the aim of

ERASMUS, or at „promoting cooperation between educational establishments" (ibid.), which virtually already is part of all existing higher education programs and most others. Both Article 126 and 127, however, lay down that any educational action undertaken by the Community should exclude measures which involve „any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States" (ibid., p. 47).

Ultimately, we will have to wait and see, what a new Treaty may bring. Let's hope it will respect the sovereignty of the peoples of the Members states, by giving the European Parliament the power a parliament should have in a democracy. And let's hope, the new treaty will have to be ratified by the peoples – not only by the parliaments – of all Member States. Because, as Lord Tebbit said: „Maastricht is an issue of whether we should give away our power to govern ourselves. Now that is not a matter of government, that is a matter of government giving away something that belongs to the people . . . our right to self-government. That is when the people should have a say" (WINTOUR 1992, p. 24).

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II. Postkommunistische Gesellschaften/ Post-Communist Societies

Hans Döbert

Schulentwicklung in den ostdeutschen Bundesländern und der europäische Kontext

Zusammenfassung:

Zwei Jahre nach der "Wende" hat sich die Schullandschaft in den neuen Ländern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in vielerlei Hinsicht verändert. Die Umwälzungen in der Schullandschaft, die sich in den neuen Bundesländern unter Zeitdruck vollzogen haben, verursachen erhebliche Probleme in bezug auf die Anpassung und Neuorganisation der Schulabschlußzeugnisse, der Schulstrukturen und der Curricula. Gleichermaßen vielfältig wie die Probleme des strukturellen Wandels des Schulsystems sind die Schwierigkeiten für die betroffenen Menschen (Schüler, Lehrer, Eltern), für die Bildungspolitiker und die Bildungsverwaltung, welche sich aus dem Wandel ergeben. Der Vortrag informiert unter vergleichendem Aspekt über die Grundrichtung der Bildungspolitik und die Intentionen der Schulreform in den neuen Bundesländern und zeigt zugleich auf, wie vor dem Hintergrund des europäischen Integrationsprozesses europaweit diskutierte Fragen der Bildungsentwicklung einbezogen wurden.

School Development in the East German Federal States and the European Context

Summary:

Two years after the "change" the school scenery in the new states of the Federal Republic of Germany has changed in many ways. The upheavel of the school scenery, which has been taking place in the new federal states under time pressure, is causing massive problems related to the adaptation and reorganisation of school-leaving certificates, school structure and curricula. As manyfold as the problems of structural changes of the school system are the difficulties experienced by the people concerned (pupils, teachers, parents), by educational politicians and administration as a result of the changes. The speech presents information on the basic direction of educational policy and the intentions of the school reform in the new federal states from a comparative perspective, showing at the same time in what respect, in the light of the European unification-process questions of educational development discussed European-wide have been taken into account.

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1. Einleitung

Im Schulwesen der fünf ostdeutschen Bundesländer und Ostberlins sind gravierende Veränderungen eingeleitet worden. Sie sind Folge der raschen Umbrüche, die sich in Deutschland, aber auch in Osteuropa vollzogen haben. Der Beitrag will über die grundlegenden Wandlungen informieren und sie im Kontext gesellschafts- und bildungspolitischer Entwicklungen in Europa vergleichend betrachten. Auch wenn der vorgegebene Rahmen zu einer thesenhaft verkürzten Darstellung zwingt, liegt eine allzu eilfertige Generalisierung nicht in meiner Absicht.

2. Veränderungen der Gesellschaftssysteme in Europa

Einführend soll zunächst der gesellschafts- und bildungspolitische Kontext des Themas angesprochen werden. Absehbar ist, daß in den neunziger Jahren auf die Entwicklung der Bildungswesen in Europa zwei gesellschaftspolitische Entwicklungslinien wesentlichen Einfluß nehmen werden: die europäische Integration und die Umwälzungen in den ehemals "sozialistischen" Staaten. Mit der Umgestaltung des Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftssystems in Osteuropa wird sich auch das Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftssystem im Westen ändern müssen. Vor den westeuropäischen Staaten stehen neue Themen und neue Herausforderungen. Exemplarisch seien nur die Stichworte Umwelt, gerechtere Verteilung von Ressourcen und Sparsamkeit anstelle von Überfluß genannt. Die bisherige Art eines gewissen verschwenderischen Umgangs im Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftssystem wie im individuellen System wird sich angesichts der notwendigen Hilfe für die osteuropäischen Staaten auf Dauer nicht halten lassen. Damit ist ein Aspekt von übergreifendem Interesse angesprochen, nämlich der, wie dieser Wandel auf die Schule und die Schulentwicklung durchschlägt. Dabei liegt für das Schulwesen die besondere Herausforderung darin, daß in gewisser Weise in der Schule und insbesondere bei den Curricula die neuen Entwicklungen vorweggenommen werden müssen. Bildung und Erziehung sind somit zentrale Themen der Wandlungsprozesse in Europa. Die Beschlüsse und Richtlinien der Europäischen Gemeinschaft zu den unmittelbaren Auswirkungen auf das Bildungswesen infolge der beabsichtigten politischen und wirtschaftlichen Union in Europa lassen bislang offen, welche Rolle das östliche Europa mit seinen konflikt- und spannungsreichen Entwicklungen spielt und von welchem Europa die Rede ist, mit dem sich letztlich etwa Schüler und Jugendliche identifizieren sollen. Die Folgen für das allgemeinbildende Schulwesen sind im einzelnen noch nicht absehbar. Klar dürfte jedoch sein, daß parallel zum

"Wirtschaftsraum Europa" ein entsprechender "Bildungsraum Europa" entstehen muß. Wesentlich wird es dabei um die aus dem pädagogischen Bereich initiierte Entwicklung eines allgemeinen europäischen Bewußtsein gehen, ohne die regionalen und nationalen Besonderheiten etwa aufzugeben oder zu verwischen.

3. Internationalisierung versus Partikularisierung

Veranschaulicht man sich die gegenwärtigen Entwicklungen in Europa, so stellt man fest, daß einerseits die zunehmenden wechselseitigen Abhängigkeiten in Wirtschaft, Ökologie, Politik usw. zwischen den Staaten Prozesse der Internationalisierung befördern und zur Bildung internationaler und supranationaler Einheiten, Organisationen und Institutionen führen. Zugleich gibt es gegenläufige Tendenzen zur Partikularisierung, die sich an nationalen, ethnischen, konfessionellen und regionalen Interessen orientieren. Nimmt man die ehemalige DDR aus, so sind aus den früheren acht "sozialistischen Staaten" inzwischen 26 neue oder wesentlich veränderte Staaten entstanden. Jeder dieser Staaten verfolgt eine eigene politische, auch bildungspolitische, ökonomische und soziale Strategie. Die Entwicklung von Internationalität wird begleitet – und gefährdet? – von einer steigenden Welle der Regionalisierung und Förderalisierung.[1]

Schulreformvorhaben in den einzelnen Staaten werden sich daran messen lassen müssen, was in Europa an modernen Lösungen vorliegt. Umgekehrt gilt das ebenso. Zur Zeit muß offengelassen werden, ob es zu einem einheitlichen europäischen Standard, d.h. zu einer Angleichung der verschiedenen nationalen und föderalen Lösungen kommt oder ob nicht gerade die Vielfalt europäischer Lösungen für einander produktiv gemacht werden kann. Die europäische Integration wird sich in vielfältigen Wechselwirkungen realisieren: Die internationale Annäherung und Vergleichbarkeit wird eine nationale Profilierung voraussetzen, internationales Denken eine nationalstaatliche Verantwortung erfordern, europäische Zukunft die Sicht auf nationale Geschichte verlangen. Es zeigt sich, daß die Orientierung an historischen "Vorbildern" bei der Neugestaltung der Bildungswesen in den osteuropäischen Staaten zunimmt. Eine Öffnung für

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1 Vgl.: Mitter, W.: Tendenzen und Probleme des Bildungswesens in Europa in historisch-vergleichender Betrachtung. In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 26 (1990) 3, S. 270-278; und Konzept der Forschungsstelle für Konflikt- und Kooperationsstrukturen in Ostmitteleuropa, Südosteuropa und Eurasien an der J.W. Goethe-Universität. Frankfurt am Main, 1992.

moderne europäische Lösungen dürfte gerade für Staaten, die sich neu orientieren, von Bedeutung sein. Die analogen "Herausforderungen" der neuartigen geschichtlichen Lage in Europa an die Unterrichts-, Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen der einzelnen Staaten bedeutet aber auch, bei aller regionalen und nationalen Eigenständigkeit, kein Auseinanderklaffen der Bildungssysteme in Europa zuzulassen. Auf der einen Seite gibt es verbreitet Forderungen und gängige praktische Ansätze für das Thema "Europa" in Schule und Unterricht, auf der anderen Seite erschweren Regionalisierungstendenzen im Schulwesen den Blick nach Europa. Das gilt in spezifischer Weise auch für die 1990 neugebildeten ostdeutschen Bundesländer.

4. Schulentwicklung in Ostdeutschland im Spannungsfeld von deutscher und europäischer Integration

In den ostdeutschen Bundesländern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland vollzieht sich zur Zeit eine grundlegende Veränderung des gesamten Erziehungsraumes Schule. Die innerhalb eines Jahres durchzuführende Anpassung und Reorganisation der Schulformen, Curricula und Schulabschlüsse an Bestehendes in den "alten" Bundesländern stellte und stellt Bildungspolitiker, Verwaltungen, Schüler, Lehrer und Eltern vor komplizierte, in ihren Folgewirkungen derzeit nicht immer abschätzbare Probleme.

Dieser radikale strukturelle, inhaltliche und auch personelle Umbruch des Schulwesens in der ehemaligen DDR sowie die erforderlich gewordene Anpassung an das etablierte demokratische Bildungswesen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland enthält sowohl Chancen als auch Gefahren, wobei oft beides in ein- und demselben Prozeß liegt. Die föderale Struktur, die mit den neuen Landesschulgesetzen fixiert wurde, kann Pluralität und Vielfalt erzeugen, neue Schulformen hervorbringen und einen fruchtbaren Wettbewerb zwischen den Schulformen auslösen. Die deutsche Schullandschaft könnte so wesentlich bereichert werden. Bisherige Entwicklungen zeigen aber, daß dieser Innovationsschub von Ost nach West nicht stattfindet, sondern die weitgehende Übernahme des westdeutschen Schulsystems auf längere Zeit ein West-Ost-Gefälle in der deutschen Bildungslandschaft erzeugen wird. Dadurch gingen und gehen beachtenswerte, möglicherweise sogar bewahrenswerte Elemente des Schulwesens der DDR und vielversprechende Reformansätze der "Nach-Wende"-Zeit weitgehend verloren. Mit dem West-Ost-Gefälle verbindet sich auch der Eindruck, daß die Diskussion zum Erneuerungsbedarf des Schulwesens in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, der vor 1990 angemahnt wurde, keine

Berücksichtigung bei der Schulentwicklung in den ostdeutschen Bundesländern gefunden hat. Im Gegenteil: Teilweise werden den ostdeutschen Bundesländern Modelle und Konzepte aus den "alten" Bundesländern angepriesen, die dort vor 1990 selbst vehement kritisiert wurden.

In der Entwicklung des Schulwesens in Ostdeutschland lassen sich seit Herbst 1989 bis jetzt drei voneinander abhebbare Phasen feststellen, die durch jeweils spezifische Spannungsverhältnisse gekennzeichnet sind.

Als eine *erste Phase* würde ich die Entwicklungen etwa von November 1989 bis Ende des Schuljahres 1989/90 sehen. Für diese Zeit war charakteristisch:

Die Schule der DDR stand stets zwischen Reformnotwendigkeit und Restriktion, wobei letztere überwog. Die Abkehr von der parteiideologischen Pädagogik, die Überwindung von Bestimmungen, die die Schule als Machtinstrument des DDR-Staates und der SED festschrieben, die Entscheidungs- und Wahlfreiheit von Schülern und Eltern beschnitten sowie die Ideologisierung und Militarisierung des Unterrichts zum Inhalt hatten, war Hauptanliegen der ersten Reformbestrebungen nach dem Herbst 1989. Hinzu kamen die Veränderungen der zu geringen Differenzierung bis Klasse 10 und der vor allem ideologisch begründeten hohen Selektivität beim Zugang zur Erweiterten Oberschule (EOS). Diese Reformbestrebungen waren zudem von einer Rezeption europäischen Bildungsdenkens maßgeblich geprägt, deren Wirkungen sich unmittelbar in Veränderungen von Formen und Inhalten von Schule und Unterricht niederschlugen. Eine Vielzahl interessanter Schulversuche nahm hierin ihren Ausgangspunkt. Erste Schulen in freier Trägerschaft entstanden. Es war dies eine Zeit der Experimentierfreudigkeit der Lehrer, der Suche nach neuen Wegen und der breiten öffentlichen Teilnahme an Diskussionen um grundlegende pädagogische Themen. Zugleich zeigte sich, daß viele Lehrer auf diese Situation der selbständigen Entscheidungsfindung und des eigenverantwortlichen Handelns nicht vorbereitet waren. Das eigentliche Hemmnis dieser Reformansätze aber waren die Schulbehörden, die überwiegend in der gleichen Besetzung wie vor der Wende arbeiteten und teils eine Restauration alter Verhältnisse anstrebten, teils aber auch durch die Starrheit eigenen Denkens Entwicklungen verzögerten. Diese erste Phase ist vor allem durch das Spannungsverhältnis von ersten Reformansätzen einerseits und Restaurationsbemühungen andererseits gekennzeichnet.

An sie schloß sich eine *zweite Phase*, etwa über das Schuljahr 1990/91 dauernd, an. Es war dies eine Phase erster Ansätze der Wahrnehmung der

Kulturhoheit der neugebildeten Bundesländer. Sie war vor allem geprägt durch das Spannungsverhältnis von politisch-administrativen Maßgaben der Umgestaltung des Schulwesens in den Bundesländern und begonnener Schulentwicklung und -veränderung von "unten". Verbunden mit dieser Regionalisierungstendenz gerät das Thema "Europa" weitgehend aus dem Blick. In dieser Zeit war das Bemühen um Sicherung behördlicher Aufsicht deutlich sichtbar. Es wurden Strukturen und Zuständigkeiten geklärt sowie Handlungsfähigkeiten der neugebildeten Behörden geschaffen. Der fachlich-inhaltliche Streit bei der Umgestaltung des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens vollzog sich kaum mehr öffentlich, war selbst für die Lehrer des jeweiligen Landes selten transparent. Hinzu kam, daß sich die Rahmenbedingungen pädagogischer Arbeit ständig veränderten (wiederholte Wahl der Schulleiter, Unklarheiten bei den zu bildenden neuen Schultypen u.a.). Dadurch und durch die neuen staatlichen Setzungen wurden begonnene Schulversuche und Reformprojekte abgebrochen. Soziale Verunsicherung und Resignationserscheinungen unter der Lehrerschaft nahmen zu.

Eine *dritte Phase* deutet sich erst an. Sie wird ihre volle Ausprägung im Laufe des Schuljahres 1992/93 und danach erfahren. In dieser Phase geht es vor allem um die Realisierung der im Rahmen der jeweiligen Schulgesetze vorgegebenen strukturellen Schulreformvorhaben, um die inhaltliche und pädagogische Erneuerung des Schulwesens sowie der Lehrer- aus- und Lehrerfortbildung und um die Neuorientierung der Lehrer. Prägend dürften für diese Phase die volle Realisierung der Kulturhoheit der Bundesländer, die Umsetzung föderaler Prinzipien eines dezentralen Bildungssystems und normative Setzungen seitens staatlicher Steuerungs- und Kontrollsysteme ebenso sein, wie die zunehmenden Autonomiebestrebungen von Schulen und Betroffenen (Schüler, Lehrer, Eltern). Zudem entstehen als neues Spannungsfeld die Herausforderungen aus der europäischen Integration. Als Stichworte seien genannt Vergleichbarkeit der Bildungsabschlüsse, Fremdsprachenausbildung, Lehrer- und Schüleraustausch, interkulturelle Erziehung und vertiefte Behandlung gemeinsamen europäischen Erbes im Fachunterricht.

5. Schule zwischen Anpassung und Neuerung

Als wichtigstes Faktum der Veränderung der Schullandschaft in Ostdeutschland ist festzustellen: in den neuen Bundesländern ist – wenn auch in unterschiedlicher Weise – die Einheitsschule durch das gegliede-

te Schulwesen abgelöst.[2] Eine gewisse Ausnahme machte der Freistaat Sachsen, wo die bisherige Einheitsschule weitgehend noch existierte und erst zum Schuljahr 1992/93 zum gegliederten Schulwesen übergegangen wird. Das gerade zu Ende gegangene Schuljahr stellte für die sächsischen Schulen damit ein Jahr des Übergangs dar.

Außer Mecklenburg-Vorpommern hat keines der neuen Bundesländer das dreigliedrige Schulwesen in seiner ursprünglichen Form übernommen. Vom äußeren Eindruck dominiert eine gewisse Zweigliedrigkeit: in Sachsen-Anhalt Sekundarschulen und Gymnasien, in Thüringen Regelschulen und Gymnasien, in Sachsen Mittelschulen und Gymnasien und in Brandenburg Gesamtschulen und Gymnasien, nachträglich ergänzt durch Realschulen vor allem in ländlichen Gebieten. Für das Schulsystem in Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen und Sachsen drängt sich die Vermutung auf, daß es sich um eine Verlagerung der Dreigliedrigkeit nach innen handelt, da Sekundar-, Regel- bzw. Mittelschulen mit Haupt- und Realschulbildungsgang bzw. -abschluß vorgesehen sind. Es wird sich zeigen, welches Profil diese Schulen erhalten, das einer chancengleichen Schule für die Mehrheit der Kinder als wirkliche Neuerung oder das einer Haupt-Realschule, wie in Hamburg oder gar einer "Restschule" für alle die Kinder, die nicht zum Gymnasium können oder wollen (Schule für Nicht-Gymnasiasten?). In Mecklenburg-Vorpommern ist die ursprüngliche Dreigliedrigkeit durch die – wenn auch eingeschränkte – Zulassung von Gesamtschulen zu der bereits in den alten Bundesländern bekannten Viergliedrigkeit modifiziert worden.

Die Grundschule umfaßt in vier der neuen Bundesländer die Klassenstufen 1 bis 4. Lediglich in Brandenburg gibt es sechs Schuljahre. Bedingt durch die unmittelbare Nähe zu Berlin hat sich Brandenburg offenbar hierbei, wie auch beim Abitur nach 13 Jahren, am Berliner Schulwesen orientiert. Die Unzufriedenheit mit der frühzeitigen Selektion nach Klasse 4 und dem damit verbundenen Druck auf die Kinder ist groß.

Der Hort ist einer der wenigen Punkte, wo eine gewisse Kontinuität zur DDR-Schule zu erkennen ist. In den einzelnen Bundesländern werden hinsichtlich der Horte und ihrer Anbindung unterschiedliche Akzente gesetzt. Bei aller Unterschiedlichkeit sprechen sich die Landesregierungen für die Erhaltung von Horten aus. In Anbetracht der stark belasteten Fi-

2 Eine ausführliche Darstellung findet sich bei: Döbert, H./Martini, R.: Schule zwischen Wende und Wandel. Wie weiter mit den Schulreformen in Deutschland-Ost? In: Die Deutsche Schule, 84 (1992) 1, S. 94-110.

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nanzhaushalte ist es wahrscheinlich, daß die in den Gesetzen vorgesehene Einrichtung von Horten in der Praxis stark reduziert wird und somit weder die Wünsche der Eltern noch die Bedürfnisse der Kinder genügend berücksichtigt werden können.

Die Sekundarstufe I beginnt in der Regel mit der 5., in Brandenburg mit der 7. Klasse und führt bis zur Klassenstufe 10. Die Klassen 5 und 6 werden in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern als Orientierungsstufe geführt. In der Sekundarschule Sachsen-Anhalts werden sie als differenzierte Förderstufe und am Gymnasium als Beobachtungsstufe eingerichtet. In Sachsen haben die Klassen 5 und 6 sowohl in der Mittelschule als auch am Gymnasium Orientierungsfunktion. Das Bildungsgesetz Thüringens sieht diese "Zwischenstufe" nicht vor.

Wie dargestellt, ist die Sekundarstufe I in den neuen Bundesländern unterschiedlich strukturiert und zeigt mit ihrer überwiegenden Zweigliedrigkeit – zumindest nach außen – deutliche Abweichungen von den alten Bundesländern.

Die Sekundarstufe II ist in den neuen Bundesländern weitgehend analog der in den westlichen Bundesländern organisiert. Strittig ist hier vor allem die Frage der Gesamtdauer bis zum Abitur. Bei allen gegenwärtig kontroversen Diskussionen um die Dauer der gymnasialen Oberstufe ist weniger von Bedeutung, ob das Abitur nach 12 oder 13 Schuljahren erworben wird, sondern wie die Vorleistungen bis zum Abschluß der 10. Klasse sind und welches Niveau das Abitur selbst hat. Zu bedenken ist, daß ein größeres Zeitvolumen für die gymnasiale Oberstufe nicht zwingend ein höheres Abiturniveau einschließt.

Über die angedeuteten schulstrukturellen Aspekte hinaus gibt es in den ostdeutschen Bundesländern weitere interessante Neuerungen. Am Beispiel Sachsens seien genannt: spezifische Regelungen zur Nationalität der Sorben; eine große, an die Mittelschule anschließende Vielfalt weiterführender Bildungsgänge; ein Angebot von Ganztagsbetreuung an allen Schulen; das neue Konzept der Förderschule. Auch wenn abzuwarten bleibt, wie sich die tatsächliche Entwicklung vollziehen wird, verdienen solche Ansätze unvoreingenommene Aufmerksamkeit.

Ein besonderes Problem ist die Gesamtschule. Im Unterschied zu allen anderen neuen Bundesländern hat Brandenburg die Gesamtschule quasi als Regelschule eingeführt. Im Gesetz von Mecklenburg-Vorpommern wird die Gesamtschule nicht unter den allgemeinbildenden Schulen aufge-

führt, vielmehr wird ihr eine Sonderstellung eingeräumt. Die Einrichtung von Gesamtschulen ist zwar als gleichrangige Ergänzung der Schulen des dreigliedrigen Systems zu betrachten, darf jedoch deren Existenz nicht gefährden. In den Gesetzen von Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt und Thüringen ist der Aufbau von Gesamtschulen derzeit nicht vorgesehen, wenngleich in der Praxis doch vereinzelte Schulversuche durchgeführt werden. Nicht wenige Lehrerkollegien und Eltern in diesen Bundesländern wollen trotz Ernüchterung durch die Schulgesetze "auf eigene Gefahr" an ihren Gesamtschulvorstellungen festhalten.

Soll der Neuaufbau des Schulwesens in den ostdeutschen Bundesländern erfolgreich sein, bedarf es neben der strukturellen Umorganisation vor allem der inhaltlichen und pädagogischen Erneuerung. Ein entscheidender Schritt dazu ist die Überarbeitung bzw. die Neukonzipierung von Rahmenrichtlinien. Die Lehrer sollen ihren Unterricht in eigener pädagogischer Verantwortung nach diesen Vorgaben planen und durchführen. Damit ist wesentlich die Funktion der Lehrpläne gegenüber der Schule der DDR verändert, in der sie das Hauptinstrument der staatlichen Einflußnahme auf Inhalt und Gestaltung des Unterrichts waren. Die Rahmenpläne wurden in den Bundesländern in der Regel von Lehrern und Wissenschaftlern der Hochschulen und Universitäten in Zusammenarbeit mit Experten aus den alten Bundesländern in der "Rekordzeit" von einem halben Jahr erarbeitet. So anerkennenswert diese Leistungen sind, so zweifelhaft ist dieses Vorgehen hinsichtlich der Solidität. Die neuen Rahmenrichtlinien wurden unter diesem Zeitdruck weder einer breiten Diskussion in der Lehrerschaft noch einer wissenschaftlichen Erprobung unterzogen. Mit der Einführung in die Massenpraxis der Schule erfolgt gewissermaßen ihre Evaluierung im "Großexperiment". Der Mehrzahl der Lehrer wurde ihr Inhalt erst zu Beginn des Schuljahres 1991/92 bekannt. Curriculare und didaktische Unsicherheiten bei Lehrern führten teilweise zu einem Rückgriff auf "Bewährtes". Als eine weitere Tendenz zeichnet sich ab: Die genannten Unsicherheiten in der Unterrichtsgestaltung gepaart mit den veränderten Rollenanforderungen an den Lehrer führen dazu, daß sich Lehrer auf ihr Fach "zurückziehen" und den Unterricht überwiegend leistungsbezogen ausrichten. Das wird die Tendenz zur Lernschule verstärken. Die komplizierte Situation der ostdeutschen Lehrerschaft wird dadurch verschärft, daß den Lehrern in der DDR eine besondere Rolle bei der ideologischen Homogenisierung der Gesellschaft zukam und nun eben diese Lehrer wesentlichen Anteil daran haben, ob und wie die eingeleiteten Schulreformvorhaben wirksam werden. Unter der ostdeutschen Lehrerschaft mischen sich derzeit Aufbruchstimmung und Freude über das Neue mit Abwartehaltung und resignativen Momenten.

Über die allgemeine soziale Unsicherheit hinaus – von den ca. 170 000 Lehrern in den fünf ostdeutschen Bundesländern und Ost-Berlin sollen bis Ende 1992 ca. 20% aus politischen und Bedarfsgründen entlassen werden – reflektieren Lehrer vor allem über folgende Probleme:

- In ihren Augen führte der Zeitdruck bei der Neudefinition von Bildungspolitik und beim Neuaufbau des Schulwesens fast ausschließlich zu einer Schulreform von "oben" und lediglich zu einer Substitution staatlicher Setzungen. Ein Mitdenken und -diskutieren an der Basis ist kaum möglich, da Lehrer in der Regel keine Kenntnis von den jeweiligen Vorhaben besitzen. Forderungen nach Transparenz und Demokratisierung der Schulreformschritte nehmen daher zu. Das gilt insbesondere für inhaltliche Fragen der Arbeit der neuen Schularten.

- Lehrer machen darauf aufmerksam, daß die jetzt getroffenen Entscheidungen über die jeweilige Schulart und ihren Standort nicht endgültig sein dürfte. Stärker als durch die Schulpolitik der Bundesländerregierungen werden künftige Strukturen im Schulwesen wesentlich durch das Wahlverhalten der Schüler und ihrer Eltern und durch die sich aus der Konkurrenz von Schulen ergebenden Wirkungen bestimmt. Das gilt umso mehr, je größer – und das ist eine zunehmende Tendenz – die Einflußmöglichkeiten der Eltern auf die Schullaufbahn ihrer Kinder werden. Bereits jetzt sind insbesondere der Trend zum Abitur und die weitgehende Ablehnung von Hauptschulen feststellbar.

- Auch Lehrer verweisen darauf, daß die bisherige "äußere", also organisatorisch-strukturelle Schulreform schnell und wirksam durch eine "innere" ergänzt werden muß. Von besonderer Bedeutung sind dabei ihrer Meinung nach die Qualität des Unterrichts, das pädagogische Klima an der Schule, die effektive und demokratische Gestaltung des Schullebens und geeignete Mitsprachemöglichkeiten.

- Zunehmend klagen Lehrer gegenwärtig vor allem über Disziplinschwierigkeiten. Das trifft insbesondere für Lehrer an Gesamtschulen zu. Die Ursachen dürften in nicht unerheblichen Maße in der eiligen Umstrukturierung der Schullandschaft, in den "bunt" zusammengesetzten Schulen, in der Veränderung bislang leitender Norm-, Wert- und Erziehungsvorstellungen, im pädagogischen Selbstverständnis, in der Unsicherheit im Umgang mit neuen rechtlichen Regelungen sowie in den größeren subjektiven Handlungsräumen für Lehrer wie Schüler liegen.

6. Auf dem Weg nach Europa?

Die ersten Schritte bei der Neudefinition von Bildungspolitik und der Umgestaltung des Schulwesens in den ostdeutschen Bundesländern sind trotz aller Schwierigkeiten und Probleme vonstatten gegangen. Die Schulstrukturen sind fürs erste bestimmt. Damit steht nun die inhaltliche Neugestaltung schulischer Bildung und Erziehung im Vordergrund. Schule auf ein neues und solides inhaltliches Fundament zu stellen, dürfte der breiten Unterstützung von Eltern, Schülerinnen und Schülern, Lehrerinnen und Lehrern sicher sein. Es wird sich zeigen müssen, ob die Schulentwicklung in den ostdeutschen Bundesländern die in sie gesetzten Erwartungen und Hoffnungen erfüllen kann und ob davon Impulse für Reformbestrebungen auch in den westdeutschen Bundesländern und darüber hinaus für Europa ausgehen können. Vor allem aber werden die nächsten Schritte daran zu messen sein, inwieweit sie den europaweit diskutierten Fragen bei der Entwicklung des Bildungswesens, z.B. zum Verhältnis von formaler und nichtformaler Bildung und Erziehung, von Unterricht und Erziehung, zu Fragen multi- und interkultureller Erziehung, zur wachsenden Partizipationstendenz von Eltern, Schülern und Lehrern sowie zu den Autonomiebestrebungen von Schulen, zur Rolle des Sozialisations- und Erziehungsraumes Schule, zu Konsequenzen für die Schule aus den Erfordernissen von Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsentwicklung gerecht werden.

Bei aller Spezifik der ostdeutschen Schulentwicklung – zwei Aspekte dürften von allgemeinen, vielleicht sogar von übergreifendem europaweitem Interesse sein. Zum einen darf es als durchaus vielversprechend angesehen werden, die Entwicklungen in den ostdeutschen Bundesländern dahingehend zu verfolgen, wie Schulreformen in die Schule kommen. Schulreformen zwischen ihrem bildungspolitischen Anspruch und ihrer schulpraktischen Wirksamkeit an Hand des Neuaufbaus des Schulwesens in den ostdeutschen Bundesländern zu betrachten, dürfte für die nationale und internationale wissenschaftliche Öffentlichkeit, für die politische und administrative Planung und für die Gestaltung der unmittelbaren Praxisbeziehungen von Bedeutung sein. Zum anderen dürfte von breitem Interesse sein, an Hand der Schulentwicklung in den ostdeutschen Bundesländern zu verfolgen, wie das Verhältnis von regionaler Vielfalt und europäischer Angleichung gelöst werden soll.

Die Zukunft von Schule und die weitere Schulentwicklung wird angesichts gegenläufiger Prozesse auch in Deutschland ein offenes Thema bleiben. Ob die europäische Integration und die Wandlungsprozesse in Osteuropa eine Chance für langfristige Reformbemühungen auch für Deutschland darstellen, muß die Zeit beantworten.

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Márta Gutsche

Das ungarische Bildungswesen im Umbruch

Zusammenfassung:

Dargestellt werden die Reformen, die man in gewisser Kontinuität innerhalb des Umbruchprozesses an der Schwelle des 21. Jahrhunderts auf dem Gebiet des Bildungswesens in Ungarn zu verwirklichen versucht. Die Darstellung wird um die notwendigen historischen Rückblicke erweitert, um die Besonderheiten der Entwicklung im ungarischen Bildungswesen und die Eigenart der Reformbewegung zu zeigen. Es wird auf die sich noch in Vorbereitung befindenden verschiedenen bildungspolitischen Dokumente – Bildungsgesetz und nationaler Grundlehrplan – eingegangen.

Upheavals in Hungarian Education

Summary:

The article presents the reforms taking place within the upheaval process that, in some continuity, one is trying to realise in the education sector in Hungary at the threshold of the 21st century. The description will be enlarged by necessary historical retrospectives to show the special features of the development in Hungarian education and the destinctive features of the reform movement. The different documents of educational policy – education act and national core curriculum – which are being prepared will be discussed.

Im Vergleich zu den anderen ost- und südosteuropäischen Ländern hatte Ungarn bereits vor 1989 eine beispiellos lange Reformgeschichte, in der sich allerdings nicht das gesellschaftspolitische System als solches veränderte, sondern nur ein Modellwechsel innerhalb des Systems stattfand.

In Ungarn existierte eine pluralistische Opposition, die sich seit Mitte der achtziger Jahre schnell zu einer organisierten politischen Kraft entwikkelte. Bedeutend für den Systemwechsel in Ungarn war außerdem die günstige internationale Lage, die von den Prominenten des ungarischen politischen Lebens mit ausgezeichnetem internationalen Realitätssinn genützt wurde. Die Wende und der Verlauf des friedlichen Übergangs in diesem Lande sind heute besonders zu schätzen.

Auch mit der Umgestaltung des ungarischen Bildungswesens begann man schon vor Jahrzehnten und es wurde beständig daran weitergearbeitet. Die unterschiedlichen Meinungen stimmten besonders in den letzten Jahren überein, daß ohne gebildete Menschen der erhoffte Aufstieg nicht erreicht werden und die europäische Integration nicht verwirklicht werden könne. Alle, die öffentlich mitdiskutiert haben, waren der Meinung, daß das Wissen seinen gebührenden Rang wieder bekommen und die Lehrer ein entsprechend hohes Berufsprestige erhalten sollten. Die Schule habe nach Meinung aller mehr Freiheiten und finanzielle Unterstützung zu erhalten. Auf allen Bildungsstufen müsse Pluralismus und Weltoffenheit praktiziert werden.

Praktisch gab es aber unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen vor 1989 keinen Durchbruch. Der Standpunkt des "Abwartens" war der eigentliche Grund für die Stagnation des Bildungswesens. Nach der bildungspolitischen Stellungnahme der Ungarischen Sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei von 1982 war schon sichtbar, daß diese keine umfassende Reform plante oder unterstützte.

Anfang 1989 gelangten die brennenden und ungelösten Fragen der Bildung und Erziehung, der Schule überhaupt und des Bildungswesens erneut ins Zentrum der öffentlichen Diskussionen. Bereits zu dieser Zeit schalteten sich zahlreiche neu entstandene Lehrerverbände und neue Parteien in die Diskussionen über die Gegenwart und Zukunft des Bildungswesens ein.

Kritisiert wurde das trotz der zahlreichen inhaltlichen Reformen niedrige Bildungsniveau der Kinder, die fehlende Modernität der Kenntnisse und die mangelnde Entwicklung der Grundfertigkeiten auf sprachlich-

kommunikativem und auf mathematischem Gebiet sowie schließlich die Erfolglosigkeit der schulischen Erziehung.

Die in den letzten drei Jahren entstandenen Parteien (Ungarisches Demokratisches Forum, Bund Freier Demokraten usw.) und andere gesellschaftliche Organisationen arbeiteten zahlreiche Vorstellungen und Konzeptionen zur Entwicklung der Schule aus. Immer notwendiger wurde die Überprüfung der Lage des Bildungssystems und die Gestaltung einer Bildungskonzeption auf der Basis eines fachlich-gesellschaftlichen Konsenses.

Eine "traditionelle" Reform, die sich allerdings als bloße Reformdemagogie erwies, war nicht mehr ausreichend. Die Gestaltung der Bildungspolitik selbst mußte reformiert werden, und das hieß damals, daß die Bildungspolitik immer mehr mit den Bedürfnissen der Region und der Wirtschaft in Einklang gebracht werden mußte.

Die damalige Leitung des Bildungswesens wurde so vor allem auf Druck der unabhängigen Lehrergewerkschaft dazu gezwungen, die Probleme im Bildungswesen offen darzulegen und deren Lösung anzustreben.

Im April 1989, als sich die Leitung des Bildungswesens in einer kritischen Situation befand, wurde vom Ministerium eine Sammlung von Ideen und Änderungsvorschlägen veröffentlicht, an denen verschiedene pädagogische Werkstätten und Forschungsinstitute seit Jahren gearbeitet hatten. Diese Analyse trug den Namen "Entwurf einer Reformkonzeption der Volksbildung".

Als wichtigste Ursachen der aufgetretenen Probleme werden darin genannt:

1. der Prozeß der Verarmung der Bildung;
2. die "überideologisierten" Entscheidungen und
3. die Übertragung der Planwirtschaftsstruktur auf die Schulstruktur.

Die Analyse enthielt eine Zusammenstellung von kurzfristig zu lösenden Aufgaben auf dem Gebiet des Bildungswesens und diente vor allem als Arbeitsgrundlage für den neuen Minister für Bildung und Kultur unter der Németh-Regierung vom Mai 1989 bis März 1990, Ferenc Glatz.

Der Minister für Bildung und Kultur, Ferenc Glatz, brachte in einer relativ kurzen Amtszeit zahlreiche Initiativen für den Systemwechsel im Bildungswesen ein:

- Die Erhöhung der Lehrergehälter entsprach den Forderungen der Lehrer.
- Die Modifizierung des Bildungsgesetzes von 1985 sicherte zunächst die Möglichkeit zur Eröffnung des Schuljahres 1989/90, unter anderem auch dadurch, daß das Staatsmonopol bei Schulgründungen aufgehoben und die parteipolitische Ideologie aus den Schulklassen entfernt wurde.
- Die Gründung von Privatschulen wurde ermöglicht.
- Die Hochschuleinrichtungen erhielten eine größere Selbständigkeit.
- Verschiedene konfessionelle Schulen wurden wiedereröffnet.
- Der Minister initiierte auch den Ausbau des achtklassigen Gymnasiums.
- Die Bildungsreformbewegung erzielte einen bedeutenden Erfolg mit der Entscheidung, daß ein nationaler Grundlehrplan auszuarbeiten sei.
- Auch das eingeleitete Fremdsprachenprogramm für westliche Sprachen war von Bedeutung für die Weiterentwicklung des ungarischen Schulwesens. Das Fremdsprachenprogramm zielte auf die Erweiterung der Fremdsprachenkultur Ungarns und dadurch auf einen stärkeren Zusammenschluß mit Europa ab. Der Fremdsprachenunterricht erlangte durch das europäische Integrationsprogramm einen besonderen Rang.
- Die Russischlehrer werden seitdem umgeschult, und immer öfter werden ausländische Lehrer eingestellt.

Nach den Parlamentswahlen von 1990 wurde dann von der neuen Administration die Entwicklung der Vielfalt der Bildung als zentrale Aufgabe in Angriff genommen.

Eine der ersten Amtshandlungen des neuen Kultusministers der Regierungskoalition war die Einführung des Religionsunterrichts, allerdings aufgrund der heftigen Diskussionen nur fakultativ, ab September 1990.

Diese Diskussion verwies aber auch darauf, daß die über Jahrzehnte wirksamen Sozialisationsprozesse und Mentalitätsentwicklungen von der Administration zunächst etwas unterschätzt wurden. In der öffentlichen Diskussion wurde nämlich die Befürchtung geäußert, daß der Systemwechsel bloß ein Auswechseln einer Alleinherrschaft (der marxistisch-le-

ninistischen Ideologie) durch eine andere (die christliche Weltanschauung) sein könnte.

Die dringlichste Aufgabe der neuen Regierung bestand einerseits in der Sicherung der Funktionsfähigkeit der Institutionen unter den Bedingungen einer wachsenden Inflation. Andererseits mußte das Bildungswesen grundsätzlich umgestaltet werden.

Infolge der schnellen gesellschaftlichen und ökonomischen Veränderungen war nämlich in den letzten zwei Jahren in Ungarn das streng zentral gelenkte staatliche Schulsystem im wesentlichen zusammengebrochen. Die 1990 eingeleitete demokratische Umgestaltung der Administration (Gesetz über die Selbstverwaltungen) begann jedoch ohne die Neugestaltung einer arbeitsfähigen Fachadministration der Volksbildung, wobei allerdings die Hauptstadt eine Ausnahme bildete. Die Schulen gehörten damit rechtlich zu den örtlichen Selbstverwaltungen (Gemeindeverwaltungen), die keinesfalls immer über ausreichende pädagogische und bildungspolitische Fachkompetenz verfügten.

Bei den in dieser Zeit entstandenen Problemen und Auseinandersetzungen mit den örtlichen Selbstverwaltungen suchten die Schulen Schutz bei der zentralen Leitung. Das Ministerium kann andererseits aber nur sehr schwer Verbindung mit über 3 000 örtlichen Selbstverwaltungen halten. Dieses Problem harrt noch einer Lösung.

Das Hauptproblem bei dieser Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Zentralisation und Dezentralisation ist, wie die jetzige politische Elite zu einem neuen Bildungsgesetz steht.

Die Diskussionen um das *neue Bildungsgesetz* zeigen, daß sich die Meinungen der Regierungsparteien und der Opposition vor allem bezüglich der Ziele der Schulbildung voneinander entfernt haben. Die Opposition betont mehr und mehr die moderne Dienstleistungsfunktion des Bildungswesens, wohingegen die regierenden Parteien dessen traditionelle nationale Funktion betonen. In der Frage der Selektion sind beide Seiten geteilter Meinung (HALÁSZ 1991).

In der Übergangsperiode hatte Ferenc Gazsó, ein führender Funktionär des alten Regimes, von der Koalitionsregierung die Aufgabe erhalten, die Ausarbeitung eines neuen Bildungsgesetzes zu leiten. (Er hatte übrigens bei der Ausarbeitung des Bildungsgesetzes von 1985 eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt.) Hauptkritik an der von der Gazsó-Kommission im

Sommer 1991 vorgelegten zweiten Fassung des Gesetzentwurfes war, daß diese Konzeption die ungarischen und europäischen Traditionen nicht beachtet hatte und nur das amerikanische System ins Auge faßte. Auch wurde der Konzeption ein uferloser Liberalismus zum Vorwurf gemacht.

Das Ungarische Demokratische Forum hat beispielsweise durch sein Pädagogenkollegium die Meinung zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß "der Gesetzentwurf auf die Gestaltung einer neuen sozialen Wertordnung orientiert sein soll, die sich der europäischen Demokratie annähert und die nationalen Traditionen erhält. Das Gesetz soll dem Aufbau eines Schulsystems dienen, das die erwünschten Veränderungen in der Gesellschaft befördert. Für die fachliche Kontrolle des Unterrichts sollte man die traditionellen ungarischen Schulbezirke wieder ins Leben rufen ... Die Schulbezirksdirektoren und ihre Mitarbeiter, die fachlich ausgezeichnet vorbereitet und moralisch ohne Tadel seien, sollten nicht nur Kontrollaufgaben ausüben, sondern auch eine Rolle spielen, die die Schule und die Lehrer schützt und ihnen hilft" (DOBOS 1991).

Die Struktur der dritten Fassung des Gesetzentwurfes des Kultusministeriums wurde wesentlich bestimmt durch die Zielsetzung einer genauen Klärung und Teilung der Verantwortlichkeit zwischen den Selbstverwaltungen und der zentralen Leitung des Bildungswesens.

Das neue Gesetz über die Volksbildung wird voraussichtlich 1992 dem Parlament vorgelegt. Das Berufsbildungsgesetz, das Hochschulgesetz und das Akademiegesetz sind ebenfalls in Vorbereitung.

Eine andere, aber nicht weniger wichtige Frage war und ist seit der Wende die Frage, was und wie in den Schulen unterrichtet wird.

Gegenwärtig haben die ungarischen Lehrer relativ große Freiheiten bei der Auswahl des Unterrichtsstoffes und der Unterrichtsmethoden. Die alten Lehrpläne, die 1978 stufenweise eingeführt und in den 80er Jahren korrigiert worden sind, hatten bereits größere Freiheiten gewährt. Die Versuchsschulen oder die Privatschulen, wie etwa kirchliche Schulen oder Stiftungsschulen, haben ihre eigenen Lehrbücher.

In diesem Zusammenhang entsteht die Frage, durch welche Bildung in den ungarischen Schulen der Anschluß an die Bildung nach europäischen Normen zu sichern ist.

Darauf versucht der *nationale Grundlehrplan* eine Antwort zu geben. Er wird seit 1989 in Ungarn diskutiert. Die dritte Fassung des nationalen Grundlehrplans wurde Ende 1991 erarbeitet.

Das ungarische Kerncurriculum, der nationale Grundlehrplan, ist nach der Lehrplantheorie ein Rahmenplan. So wird nicht wie in den sechziger Jahren alles vorgeschrieben. Im Kerncurriculum werden die für jeden Staatsbürger nötigen, von ihm forderbaren Grundkenntnisse, Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten gesetzlich vorgeschrieben. Es enthält den grundlegenden Bildungsstoff eines jeden Bildungsgebietes. Die Grundlagen der allgemeinen Kultur sind systematisch in Bildungsbereiche gegliedert: Erziehung zur Kommunikation, Mathematik, Fremdsprachen, Sozialwissenschaften, Mensch und Gesellschaft, Naturwissenschaften, Informatik, Technologie/Design, Hauswirtschaft, Kunst, Körperkultur und Sport.

Entsprechend den fachlichen Anregungen wurden die allgemeinen Anforderungen festgesetzt. Konkrete Anforderungen wird auch das Prüfungssystem enthalten. Der nationale Grundlehrplan setzt voraus, daß ein entsprechendes Prüfungssystem, ein Schulbuchmarkt sowie ein pädagogisches Dienstleistungssystem ausgebaut werden.

Es sind also neue Schritte im Bildungswesen Ungarns einzuleiten, um das nationale Bildungssystem im europäischen Rahmen zu gestalten. Es ist dabei notwendig, die Hindernisse, die den Anschluß an die Normen Europas erschweren, aus dem Wege zu räumen. Solche Hindernisse bestehen im strukturellen Bereich des Bildungswesens (Schulstruktur, Institutionstypen, Abschlüsse), im Bildungsinhalt (Lehrstoff, Methoden und philosophische Grundlegung) sowie in der Leitung der Bildung (Fachadministration, Finanzierung und Lehrerausbildung) (KOZMA). Alle Überlegungen zur Entwicklung des Bildungswesens werden der Zielsetzung untergeordnet, die internationale Wettbewerbsfähigkeit und den Anschluß des Landes an Europa zu sichern.

Entsprechend gestaltet sich die Vorbereitung des neuen Bildungsgesetzes und des nationalen Grundlehrplans.

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Gerhard Huck

First Projects of Functional Literacy in the New Federal States of Germany

Summary:

More than 400 governmental and non-governmental institutions are offering literacy courses for more than 20.000 participants in the Federal Republic of Germany. But in the former German Democratic Republic (now the new federal states of Germany) the presence of functional illiteracy was not officially acknowledged until the middle of 1989. Since then the first projects have been started or are expected to be launched. This paper outlines the project "Functional Literacy in the New Federal States (of Germany)" which intends to examine the extent and the different types or levels of functional illiteracy by empirical research. The paper also presents first results of the project "Investigation of the Further Education Requirements of Basic Qualifications in Adult Education of the New Federal States", reporting on some of the ongoing literacy activities and indicating the agenda for the future.

Erste Projekte zur funktionalen Alphabetisierung in den neuen deutschen Bundesländern

Zusammenfassung:

In der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bieten mehr als 400 staatliche und nichtstaatliche Institutionen Alphabetisierungskurse für mehr als 20 000 Teilnehmer an. In der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (den jetzigen neuen deutschen Bundesländern) dagegen gab es bis Mitte des Jahres 1989 noch nicht einmal eine offizielle Stellungnahme zur Existenz von Analphabetismus. Seitdem sind erste Projekte begonnen worden oder in der Planung. Der Vortrag beschreibt das Projekt "Funktionale Alphabetisierung in den neuen Bundesländern", in dem versucht wird, durch empirische Untersuchungen das Ausmaß und die verschiedenen Formen oder Niveaus von funktionalem Analphabetismus zu ermitteln. Ebenso werden erste Ergebnisse des Projekts "Erkundung des Weiterbildungsbedarfs im Bereich elementarer Qualifikationen in der Erwachsenenbildung der neuen Bundesländer" vorgestellt, einige der gegenwärtigen Aktivitäten aufgeführt und die zukünftigen Arbeitsschritte beschrieben.

The growing recognition of the problem of adult illiteracy in the Federal Republic of Germany is proved by the fact that the German parliament has dealt with this phenomenon. The Commission for Education and Science of the parliament has, in the light of the World Conference "Education for All" prepared a recommendation that asks the Federal government to elaborate, in collaboration with the federal states, action plans on illiteracy as was agreed in Jomtien. This recommendation being accepted by the parliament comprises actions regarding the prevention of illiteracy at school, the promotion of libraries, the connection of reading culture and communication techniques and the occurence of double illiteracy among migrants. This decision could promote new develpoments that started after a phase of bustle and consolidation. Such new developments like full-time programmes that are carried out by the foundation "Technical and Vocational Training" in Hamburg and by the adult education centre in Bremen prove that a mere orientation towards reading and writing is not sufficient. Changing conditions in the world of work like mechanization and automation, unemployment and the increasing influence of new communication technologies have revealed that reading and writing have a relevant impact on jobs, on vocational training and on private personal life.

While in the old Federal Republic of Germany illiteracy has been recognized for more than ten years, the situation in the former German Democratic Republic (now the new federal states) was quite different. Until the middle of 1989 there had not been any official statement on the presence of functional illiterates in the GDR – like in Great Britain, France or in the Federal Republic of Germany 10 or 20 years ago, where a similar ignorance related to functional illiteracy prevailed. GDR officials were opposed also for ideological and political reasons to any scientific research on this phenomen. It was only after the Seminar of European Experts on Functional Illiteracy in Ottenstein/Austria in 1989 and the beginning of political and social changes in the same year when a few GDR educationalists began to ask questions on the presence of the problem in their country (HUCK 1990a, 1990b, 1990c). Since then some scientists and practicioners have engaged in raising public awareness regarding illiteracy and in developing strategies for overcoming the phenomenon.

We thought that the unification of Germany offered some unique chances for carrying out research projects of a comparative nature. Despite the positve developments in the old Federal Republic of Germany regarding functional illiteracy mentioned above, the German Report to the 42nd Session of the International Conference on Education in Geneva

had to state that "there are no precise figures on adults in the Federal Republic of Germany with insufficient reading and writing skills" (ERADICATION, p. 48). Why not planning a research project and developing a strategy for overcoming functional illiteracy on the basis of the results? With the help of the Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg which offered a Specialists In-Residence Programme for Post-Literacy we developed the project proposal "Functional illiteracy in the New 'Länder' of the Federal Republic of Germany – Research on literacy skill levels vis-a-vis new labour market needs".

This project intends to find out the magnitude and the different types or levels of functional illiteracy in the new "Bundesländer" (new federal states) by empirical research. At the same time the relation between funcional illiteracy and unemployment as well as the readiness to be re-trained and the readiness to accept new technologies at work is to be investigated. Besides functional illiteracy, other determinants of the readiness for further education are to be identified. Thus a contribution to the adaptation of the education system to the new societal needs is to be made and the initiation of appropriate training and re-training programmes for the identified target groups is to be promoted. By means of this project (especially in respect of the analysis and publication of results) the awareness of the public, the government and of non-governmental organizations is intended to be raised in order to bring about appropriate measures to overcome the problem and to explore all the possibilities of prevention. Another aspect is the comparison of the magnitude and nature of functional illiteracy in the old and the new federal states.

We started from the assumption that after the accession of the former GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany the socio-economic needs in the new "Bundesländer" has changed decisively. Special requirements are necessary regarding training, in-service training and re-training of citizens. The provision of measures to offer new qualifications requires extensive resources that have to be as adequate as possible. The analysis of citizens' starting level of education, the magnitude of functional illiteracy, the investigation of the relation between literacy (or literacy skill levels) and readiness to be re-trained or between literacy and unemployment, are preconditions for the adequate employment of resources. Since a majority of the adult population has a reasonable level of general and vocational education, officials do not seem to care for those who encounter problems in mastering basic skills or are not aware of the needs of these people. On the other hand, everybody seems to take it for granted that mastery of writing or at least basic literacy skills is, in the new "Bundesländ-

der" as elsewhere, increasingly becoming a criterion for in-service training and re-training of citizens. The phenomenon of functional illiteracy, which had never been investigated in the former GDR, would therefore be at the centre of this project.

According to a UNESCO definition (1978) a functional illiterate is "a person who can not engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading, writing and calculation for his own and the community's development" (ALPHABETISIERUNG 1990, p. 22). In the United States and in Canada literacy is understood as the information processing skills necessary to use the printed material commonly encountered at work, at home and in the community (SURVEY 1990, p. 1).

A functioning society with a successful economy depends on a labour force that – as a basic prerequisite – has to master the cultural techniques of reading, writing and numeracy, in order to react quickly and flexibly to the fast-changing working place requirements. Heinrich Franke, President of the Federal Labour Agency, starts from the presumption that good reading, writing and numeracy skills are already today a minimum precondition for carrying out most vocational activities (HORN, PAUKENS, HARTING 1988, p. 12). If in future vocational training or re-training the key-text method (WEISSKER 1990) which puts a kind of self-instruction (independently seeking information, planning, carrying out and checking) at the centre, gains ground, the importance of reading, writing and numeracy will by no means decrease. Prognoses of the Institute of Labour-Market and Vocational Research in Nürnberg, and of Prognos AG, state that the portion of those activities which can be carried out by unskilled workers who do not have any special qualification will decrease tremendously by the year 2000 (SCHWÄNKE 1990, p. 7).

An extensive study carried out by the Conference Board of Canada revealed that out of the 626 surveyed Canadian companies with 771.000 employees, 70% had significant problems in relation to functional illiteracy. 26% of employers report that illiteracy has slowed down the introduction of new technology, and 34% report that it impedes training and the acquisition of new skills. Twenty-seven per cent of reporting companies indicate that product quality is adversely affected by illiteracy in the work force. 40% of companies see the effects of illiteracy in errors in inputs and processes in production, and 32% in relation to productivity losses. Defecits of functional illiterates often come to light when the workplace

changes, especially when new technologies are introduced (DES LAURIERS 1990, p. VI).

Research work carried out with 1.500 adults in Australia from 1987 to 1989 came to the conclusion: "A successful economy needs the solid base of a literate and numerate work force to be able to respond quickly and confidently to increasingly changing work-place demands" (WICKERT 1989, p. 37).

It is to be feared that a growing number of people in the new "Bundesländer" can not be moved to new working places because of a lack of necessary basic qualification and because they do not have the necessary motivation for a successful participation in retraining measures.

The intended survey could contribute to the clarification of the problem and its complex relationships, and to the design of the required provision, especially with regard to the necessity of a new basic education for adults, such as is already asked for in the old "Länder" (DOHMEN 1990). To overcome the problems that had stemmed from the times of the centralized socialist planned economy, and to adapt to a modern social and ecological market economy, the five "Länder" have to change their educational policy as well as to introduce education programmes for millions of people. Necessary changes also result from the growing demands of the development in science and technology that require knowledge-intensive production. This project not only intends to reveal the extent of deficiencies and learners' preconditions, but it also strives to contribute to the creation of preconditions for overcoming functional illiteracy by developing structures, programmes and practical literacy measures similar to the ones that already exist in the old "Länder".

The study will especially make use of the latest American (KIRSCH/JUNGEBLUT 1986), Canadian (JONES 1990; DES LAURIES 1990) and Australian (WICKERT 1989) experiences. The studies just carried out in Austria (HEISSENBERGER 1990) and the Netherlands (DOETS/GROEN/HUISMAN/NEUVEL 1991) are also of interest. Direct and proxy measures will be applied to estimate the literacy skills of the general population, using 1.000 people aged 16 to 55. Three dimensions of literacy are to be differentiated (document, prose and quantitative literacy). There are different levels of difficulty in each dimension (therefore rating scales have to be developed). In the case of reading skills the following four levels could be differentiated:

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Level 1	Persons at this level have difficulty dealing with printed materials. They most likely identify themselves as people who cannot read.
Level 2	Persons at this level can use printed materials only for limited purposes such as finding a familiar word in a simple text. They would likely recognize themselves as having difficulties with common reading materials.
Level 3	Persons at this level can use reading materials in a variety of situations, provided the material is simple, clearly laid out and the tasks involved are not too complex. While these people generally do not see themselves as having major reading difficulties, they tend to avoid situations requiring reading.
Level 4	Persons at this level meet most everyday reading demands.

Three questionnaires have to be developed. A questionnaire for gathering information on the socio-demographic background (school education, school experiences, state of employment, participation in adult education programmes, readiness to learn, parental educational achievements, etc.); a questionnaire for evaluating "core skills" in order to identify already at this phase persons who should not participate in the following tests; and a main questionnaire measuring specific reading, writing and numeracy abilities. 60 minutes should be planned for the interviews. The first phase (gathering information on background and readiness for retraining) will last 20 minutes. The second phase lasts only a few minutes and will concentrate on three "core skills". If these three tasks cannot be completed there will be no further interview. The third phase comprises the evaluation of the cultural techniques of reading, writing and numeracy by means of test questionnaires of 35 minutes. The test questionnaires will contain tasks related to real-life situations and could comprise the following contents:

- locating specific facts,
- following instructions to make or repair something,
- reading to extend knowledge about a subject,
- reading for relaxation,
- using printed information to compare points of view,
- collecting information to present it to others.

Meanwhile we have approached several institutions for financial support, but in vain. These institutions have produced all kinds of reasons for not being in a position to support the project:

- a labour-market research institute (an interesting project but there are more pressing problems to be solved in the new federal states like the creation of working places)
- a research council (there seems to be a need for research but the project is not elaborated enough, e.g. there are no instruments for measuring basic literacy skills)
- a national science foundation (the possible project-coordinator is above 40 years of age)
- a ministry of education (the project interferes in the cultural sovereignty of the federal states)
- another ministry of education (the project is interesting but there are too meagre resources to finance it)
- an educational research institute (ready to support the project by providing part of the logistics but can not finance the whole project)

The only alternative suggestion for another project was forwarded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science (BMBW), Department of Adult Education. They argued that it was not a priority to do do research work on the magnitude of functional illiteracy but to offer practical assistance to the people who are in need of it. A first visible step in this direction was the initiation of the project "Investigation of the further education requirements of basic qualifications in adult education of the new federal states". This project was started in January 1992 in collaboration of the German Institute for International Educational Research (DIPF) and the Pedagogical Institute of the German Adult Education Association (DVV-PAS) and is financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science (BMBW). This project intends to initiate and promote further education opportunities in elementary qualifications (basic skills) in adult education in the new federal states in order to offer instant assistance to functional illiterates. To impart basic skills, social and personal competencies to these people is an important prerequisite for their social integration under the prevailing conditions.

We carried out the following activities:

1. Developing a questionnaire and sending it to adult education institutions throughout the new federal states in order to gain information on ongoing and planned activities, and to seize information on the requirements.
2. Organizing workshops to raise public awareness, to discuss concepts, methods and materials of literacy work and questions of training and further training of tutors, etc.

3. Carrying out interviews.
4. Producing a booklet with the results that at the same time serves the requirements of basic adult education in the new federal states.

Within the project we have differenciated between literacy work (courses to improve reading and writing skills) and basic education (courses which comprise numeracy in addition to reading and writing) in dealing with authorities, banks and insurance companies, and in acquiring basic knowledge in policy, culture, civil and administrative matters.

The questionnaire was answered by 203 adult education institutions (among them 170 adult education centres – Volkshochschulen). 75% see a growing importance of basic qualifications in the new federal states. Ongoing courses in adult education have revealed a need for literacy work (15%) and basic education (69%). There is a demand for courses covering elementary qualifications from unemployed people (44%), women (35%), industrial workers (25%), farmers (16%) and social marginal groups (11 percent). At present there are 23 adult education institutions (all are Volkshochschulen) offering one to three (total 36) literacy courses for 235 participants in the new federal states. Regarding elementary education there are 81 institutions offering 414 courses with 7.284 participants. Those adult education institutions that see a demand, would like to install courses for elementary qualifications, but can not do so for different reasons (lack of finances – 24%, not seen as a priority – 22%, lack of information – 19%, lack of materials – 19%, lack of personnel – 18%, lack of rooms – 6%). Concrete assistance and support is expected regarding specific teaching and learning materials (75%), training and further training of tutors (46%), information meetings (41%), co-operation with other institutions (32%) and guidance and counselling (23%).

Summarizing the outcomes of this project one can state the following agenda for the future

- raising public awareness,
- paying more attention to the specific requirements (e.g. registering procedures and appropriate rooms),
- concrete support in providing specific teaching and learning materials, training and further training of tutors, information meetings, co-operation with other institutions and guidance and counselling,
- in installing elementary qualification courses, especially the needs of unemployed people, women, industrial workers, farmers, social marginal groups have to be taken into consideration,

- creating opportunities for full-time tutors; only a partial improvement as to the situation of tutors can be achieved with a special time-limited "employment opportunity scheme" (ABM).

Because of the unequivocal proof of the demand for further education in the field of elementary qualification of adult education we intend to start a new project that would initiate and accompany literacy and basic education programmes in the new federal states of Germany.

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Bernd John

Vergleichende Pädagogik im Spannungsfeld von Ideologie und Wissenschaft

Zu Selbstverständnis und Entwicklungsprozessen der Disziplin in der DDR

Zusammenfassung:

Die kritische Reflexion der Geschichte der Vergleichenden Pädagogik ist eine notwendige Voraussetzung, um in Zeiten tiefgreifender nationaler und internationaler gesellschaftlicher Veränderungsprozesse neue Herausforderungen meistern zu können. Am Beispiel der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik analysiert der Autor die Entwicklung wie die Nichtentwicklung von Wissenschaft unter den Bedingungen totalitärer Systeme anhand folgender Problemkreise: das Verhältnis von Politik und Bildungswesen, das Verhältnis von Ideologie und Bildungswesen, die Funktion Vergleichender Pädagogik und das wissenschaftliche Selbstverständnis.

Comparative Education Between Ideology and Science On the Self-Concept and the Evolution of the Discipline in the GDR

Summary:

The critical reflection of the history of comparative education is a necessary precondition for coping with new demands at times of deep national and international processes of social change. Using the German Democratic Republic as an example the author analyses the development and non-development of sciences under conditions of a totalitarian system comprising the following problems: the relations of policy and education, the relations of ideology and education, the functions of comparative education, and the scientific self-concept.

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Der Zusammenbruch des sozialistischen Systems, die Radikalität, Komplexität und Widersprüchlichkeit der gesellschaftlichen Wandlungsprozesse in Mittel- und Osteuropa werfen grundsätzliche Fragen an das Selbstverständnis der Komparatistik in diesen Staaten aber auch darüber hinaus auf. Die kritische Reflexion der Disziplingeschichte trägt nicht nur zum Verständnis vergangener Entwicklung bei, sie ist zugleich eine notwendige Voraussetzung, um gegenwärtige und künftige Herausforderungen zu meistern. Die Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit ist wesentlich für das Verständnis der Grundzüge, wie sich die "Abkehr vom Sozialismus" vollzieht. Zugleich ist die kritische und selbstkritische Auseinandersetzung mit der "realsozialistischen Vergangenheit", mit der eigenen Biographie, bedeutsam für die Identitätsfindung der betroffenen Komparatisten.

Bezogen auf die Entwicklung der Vergleichenden Pädagogik in der DDR stelle ich folgende Überlegungen zur Diskussion:

Erstens: Vergleichende Pädagogik konnte sich als Wissenschaftsdisziplin nicht frei entfalten. Sie war fest in das Herrschaftssystem der kommunistischen Partei (SED) integriert, wurde als "Instrument im ideologischen Klassenkampf" konzipiert und hatte primär ideologische Funktionen zu erfüllen. Die erkenntnistheoretische Funktion war stets der ideologischen Aufgabenstellung untergeordnet. Vergleichende Pädagogik hatte grundsätzlich die nationale und internationale Entwicklung so zu erklären, daß sie mit den ideologischen Dogmen des Marxismus/Leninismus und den gesellschaftspolitischen Vorgaben der kommunistischen Partei, deren "führende Rolle" in der Verfassung festgeschrieben wurde, übereinstimmte.

Die Orientierung an den jeweiligen Parteiprogrammen der SED und den entsprechenden Beschlüssen der Parteitage wurde von den betroffenen Wissenschaftlern nicht in Frage gestellt, sie wurde vielmehr als Norm verinnerlicht. Beispiele hierfür ließen sich viele anführen, als Illustration soll das folgende hier genügen:

> "Die Grundrichtung der Weiterentwicklung der Disziplin wird bei Beachtung ihres spezifischen Gegenstandes und der Funktion durch die strategischen und praktischen Erfordernisse der Gestaltung und Weiterentwicklung der sozialistischen Schule als Bestandteil des einheitlichen sozialistischen Bildungswesens und der marxistisch-leninistischen Pädagogik in der DDR bestimmt. Die entscheidende Frage dabei ist, wie es gelingt, die Untersuchungen zu Grundfragen der Systemauseinandersetzung auf bildungspolitischem und pädagogischem

Gebiet mit den Fragen der Umsetzung, Vervollkommnung und Weiterentwicklung der auf der Grundlage des Parteiprogramms und des IX. Parteitags der SED beschlossenen Bildungsstrategie für die neunziger Jahre und über das Jahr 2000 hinaus zu verbinden."[1]

Zweitens: Die Feststellung der politischen und ideologischen Systemgebundenheit von Vergleichender Pädagogik darf jedoch nicht zu Pauschalurteilen führen. Sie kennzeichnet lediglich den Rahmen und die Grenzen ihrer Entwicklung in einem totalitären System, ersetzt jedoch nicht die erforderliche differenzierte Sichtweise auf die vergangene Entwicklung. Die Anerkennung von Vergleichender Pädagogik als Wissenschaftsdisziplin war in der DDR selbst umstritten. An den Universitäten und Hochschulen gab es faktisch keine entsprechenden Lehrstühle.

Der Prozeß der Institutionalisierung vergleichender pädagogischer Forschung erfolgte über zentrale Forschungseinrichtungen, die unmittelbar der Bildungsadministration unterstellt waren. Von entscheidender Bedeutung für die gesamte Entwicklung waren die Ende der fünfziger bzw. Anfang der sechziger Jahre festgeschriebenen spezifischen politisch-ideologischen Aufgabenstellungen in bezug auf Westdeutschland und das Ausland: einerseits "Auseinandersetzung mit der imperialistischen Pädagogik", andererseits "Auswertung der sozialistischen Pädagogik"[2].

Dies führte zu Unterschieden im wissenschaftlichen Selbstverständnis und in der Herangehensweise an die jeweiligen Forschungen. Die Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung in Westdeutschland wurden nicht als "Sonderfall des deutsch-deutschen Vergleichs" angesehen und durchgeführt, sie waren in erster Linie Arbeiten zur "ideologischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Klassengegner". Demgegenüber waren die international bezogenen Forschungen stärker wissenschaftsorientiert ausgerichtet und trugen zum Teil den Charakter vergleichender Studien. In diesem Bereich wurde Mitte der sechziger Jahre der Versuch unternommen, die "Theorie einer marxistischen Vergleichenden Pädagogik" auszuarbeiten.

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1 Becker, H./Hofmann, H.G/John, B..: Die marxistisch-leninistische Vergleichende Pädagogik in der DDR – Stand und Aufgaben der Disziplinentwicklung an der Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften. In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 25 (1989) 3, S. 260-274.

2 Vgl. Perspektivplan der Sektion IV. (Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung/Archiv. APWA. SIGN.: 2612.)

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Die Bestrebungen von Werner KIENITZ, Wolfgang MEHNERT und anderen in den sechziger Jahren, eine eigenständige Theorie und Methodologie für eine marxistische Vergleichende Pädagogik[3] auszuarbeiten, verdienen auch aus heutiger Sicht, trotz der selbstauferlegten – wenn auch geforderten – ideologischen Beschränktheit, durchaus Beachtung. Ohne ideologische Legitimation, die insbesondere die Betonung des Marxismux/Leninismus und die klare Abgrenzung von der bürgerlichen Ideologie beinhaltete, wäre eine Erörterung wissenschaftstheoretischer Fragestellungen erst gar nicht möglich gewesen. Inwieweit die Komparatisten selbst die Dogmen und Phrasen verinnerlicht hatten oder dies als Pflichtübung abtaten, ist aus heutiger Sicht schwer zu klären.

Bei der Analyse entsprechender Dokumente sollte jedoch unbedingt ein ahistorisches Vorgehen vermieden werden. Die Dinge sollten in ihrer Zeit und unter den jeweils gegebenen nationalen und internationalen Bedingungen gesehen und entsprechend gewertet werden, auch wenn sie wie nachfolgendes Zitat noch so unverständlich scheinen.

> "Gegenüber der bürgerlichen besitzt die marxistische Vergleichende Pädagogik durch ihre Fundierung auf den dialektischen und historischen Materialismus nicht nur eine unbedingt humanistische und demokratische Zwecksetzung, sondern auch eine eigentlich wissenschaftliche Ausgangsposition".[4]

Bei der Bewertung dieser und anderer Aussagen ist unbedingt zu berücksichtigen, daß die Komparatistik in der DDR stets gezwungen war, einen Legitimationsnachweis anzutreten. Das bezog sich weniger auf die wissenschaftstheoretische Begründung, primär wurde eine klare "Abgrenzung von der bürgerlichen Vergleichenden Pädagogik" erwartet und gefordert. Vergleichende Pädagogik bzw. Erziehungswissenschaft galt lange Zeit als bürgerliche Wissenschschaft. Obwohl KIENITZ, MEHNERT und andere sich eindeutig zum Marxismus/Leninismus bekannten, wurde

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3 Kienitz, W./Mehnert, W.: Über Gegenstand und Aufgaben der marxistischen Vergleichenden Pädagogik. In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 2 (1966) 3, S. 225-246.

4 a.a.O., S. 231.

ihnen ideologische Unklarheit vorgeworfen. In einer Entgegnung auf Günther GRÄFE[5] schreibt Hans DEUBLER:

"Das Buch 'Einheitlichkeit und Differenzierung im Bildungswesen' wird als Beispiel genommen, daß unsere vergleichende pädagogische Forschung doch noch einer solchen Art 'bürgerlichen Vergleichens' verhaftet ist".[6]

GRÄFE hatte den Autoren unterstellt, daß "eine Überhöhung oder isolierte Bewertung der Rolle und Funktion des Vergleichs im Forschungsprozeß zwangsläufig zu einer im falschen Sinne 'objektivierenden' Wirkung bei der Untersuchung der Prozesse und Erscheinungen im Bereich Bildung und Erziehung in Staaten unterschiedlicher Gesellschaftsordnungen führen muß"[7].

Drittens: Das unterschiedliche Selbstverständnis (primär ideologisch einerseits, wissenschaftsorientiert andererseits) prägte auch die in der Zeitschrift "Vergleichende Pädagogik" Anfang der siebziger Jahre zum Teil kontrovers geführte Diskussion um die theoretischen und methodologischen Grundlagen der Disziplin.[8]

Die unterschiedlichen Positionen wurden nicht ausdiskutiert. Auf Anweisung der Bildungsadministration wurde die Diskussion abgebrochen. Mit der 1974 vorgenommenen Bildung der Arbeitsstelle für Auslandspädagogik an der nach sowjetischem Vorbild gegründeten Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften vollzog sich zugleich ein Bruch mit dem bisherigen Wissenschaftsverständnis von Vergleichender Pädagogik und eine Absage an jene Bestrebungen, diese theoretisch und methodologisch zu

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5 Gräfe, G.: Einige Überlegungen zur Erörterung ideologisch-theoretischer Grundlagen der Untersuchung von internationalen Entwicklungsproblemen problemen auf dem Gebiet der Volksbildung. In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 10 (1974) 3, S. 307-318.

6 Deubler, H.: Über Vergleiche zwischen gegensätzlichen Gesellschaftssystemen in der ideologischen Auseinandersetzung auf dem Gebiet der Schulpolitik und Pädagogik. In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 10 (1974) 4, S. 429.

7 Gräfe, G.: a.a.O., S. 316.

8 Vgl. u.a.: Kienitz, W.: Einige theoretische Fragen der Entwicklung der Vergleichenden Pädagogik als Wissenschaftsdisziplin (Ein Diskussionsbeitrag). In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 8 (1972) 4, S. 368-390; Wulfson, B.L.: Einige methodologische Fragen der Untersuchungen zur gegenwärtigen bürgerlichen Pädagogik und Schule, ebd. S. 391-405; Herzig, I./Kling, W./Mahr, H.: Zur marxistisch-leninistischen Theorie und Methodologie vergleichender pädagogischer Untersuchungen aus weltanschaulich-philosophischer Sicht. In: Vergleichender Pädagogik, 9 (1973) 3, S. 163-176.

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begründen. Auch die Forschungen zu den sozialistischen Ländern wurden nicht mehr vordringlich in bezug auf ihre Erkenntnisfunktion, sondern unter ideologischen Gesichtspunkten und Prämissen durchgeführt.

Im "Gründungsdokument" der Arbeitsstelle wurden folgende, für alle Untersuchungen verbindliche, ideologische Vorgaben aufgeführt:

- die führende Rolle und die Vorbildwirkung des sowjetischen Bildungswesens und der Sowjetpädagogik,
- die Überlegenheit des sozialistischen Volksbildungswesens und seine internationale Bedeutung,
- der unversöhnliche Gegensatz zwischen sozialistischer und imperialistischer Bildungspolitik und Pädagogik,
- die unaufhaltsame Verschärfung der imperialistischen Bildungskrise und der ahumane Charakter des Imperialismus.[9]

Das Selbstverständnis der Disziplin wurde in der Folgezeit durch eine Identifizierung von Wissenschaft und der Ideologie des Marxismus/Leninismus, im Sinne des Überstülpens einer totalitären Ideologie, geprägt. Wissenschaftstheoretische Fragen wurden als primär ideologische und politische Fragen angesehen.

Viertens: Dieses den ideologischen Vorgaben verpflichtete Konzept geriet seit Anfang der achtziger Jahre zunehmend in Widerspruch zu den realen gesellschaftlichen Entwicklungsprozessen im nationalen und internationalen Rahmen. Die ideologischen Leitsätze, die die Disziplin jahrelang prägten, erhielten angesichts der einsetzenden Reformdiskussion und des sich abzeichnenden Wandels in Polen, Ungarn und der UdSSR zunehmende Brisanz für die Machterhaltungsinteressen der Politbürokratie in der DDR.

Anfang der achtziger Jahre wurde von der Arbeitsstelle für Auslandspädagogik eine "vertrauliche" Studie zur Entwicklung der Bildungspolitik und Pädagogik in Polen herausgegeben[10]. Diese Studie markiert einen Wendepunkt in der Disziplinentwicklung. Wurden bis dahin die Untersu-

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9 Arbeitsrichtlinie der Arbeitsstelle für Auslandspädagogik. (Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung/Archiv. APW.A. Präsidium 1974. S. 1.)

10 Becker, H./Billerbeck, W.: Moderner Revisionismus. Merkmale und Tendenzen auf bildungspolitischem und pädagogischem Gebiet und seine Wirkungsweise in der Volksrepublik Polen. Berlin: Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften der DDR, Arbeitsstelle für Auslandspädagogik 1982.

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chungen zu sozialistischen Ländern auf "Gemeinsamkeiten der sozialistischen Schulentwicklung" und die "Vorzüge des Sozialismus" fixiert, trat nunmehr die "ideologische Auseinandersetzung" mit Erscheinungen und Entwicklungsprozessen in einem der sogenannten Bruderländer als neue Aufgabe hervor. In der Einleitung dieser Studie heißt es:

> "Entsprechend der internationalen Pflicht und gemeinsamer Verantwortung kommunistischer und Arbeiterparteien für den Kampf gegen den Revisionismus, seiner gewachsenen Bedeutung als internationale Erscheinung, stellt sich das vorliegende Material die Aufgabe, ausgehend vom Wesen des modernen Revisionismus und seiner Funktion im ideologischen Klassenkampf, wesentliche Merkmale und Tendenzen des Revisionismus auf bildungspolitischem und pädagogischem Gebiet in der Klassenauseinauseinandersetzung unserer Zeit aufzudecken. Darauf aufbauend soll vor allem die Wirksamkeit des Revisionismus in der Bildungspolitik und Pädagogik der Volksrepublik Polen nachgewiesen werden.
>
> Die vorgenommene Einschätzung ist für einen speziellen Leserkreis der DDR bestimmt und beachtet die von W. Jaruzelski getroffene Feststellung auf dem 7. Plenum des ZK der PVAP, daß die polnische Arbeiterpartei ihre Probleme selbst lösen wird."[11]

In der Entwicklung in Polen, später auch in Ungarn und der UdSSR wurden "konterrevolutionäre Angriffe" auf die unveräußerlichen Grundsätze der marxistisch-leninistischen Pädagogik gesehen. Als solche werden unter anderem angeführt:

- Umkehrung des Verhältnisses von Klassenmäßigem und Allgemeinmenschlichem,
- Versuche der Anthropologisierung und Humanisierung der sozialistischen Pädagogik,
- Pluralismuskonzepte der Erneuerung,
- Zersetzung der sozialistischen Einheitschule,
- Bekämpfung des demokratischen Zentralismus.[12]

Mitte der achtziger Jahre erwies sich die im Prozeß der Perestroika erfolgte offene Reformdiskussion in der damaligen UdSSR als besonders

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11 a.a.O., S. 4.
12 Vgl. a.a.O., S. 26ff.

"ideologisch gefährlich" für die Herrschenden der DDR. Zwangsläufig wurden solche ideologischen Leitlinien, wie die "wegweisende Rolle der sowjetischen Schule und Pädagogik" oder der "Gemeinsamkeiten der sozialistischen Schulentwicklung" aufgegeben und tabuisiert.

Die Publikationstätigkeit über die Bildungsreformen wurde durch die Leitung des Ministeriums für Volksbildung in besonderer Weise kontrolliert und stark eingeschränkt. In der Zeitschrift "Vergleichende Pädagogik" erschienen von 1985 bis zum Herbst 1989 so gut wie keine Beiträge zur sowjetischen Reformdiskussion und -entwicklung. Die einzige Möglichkeit in offiziellen Publikationen darüber zu berichten, bestand im Nachdruck sowjetischer Dokumente, Aufsätze wurden lediglich zu Randproblemen der Reform veröffentlicht.

Im gesamten Jahrgang 1989 der genannten Zeitschrift erschien lediglich ein Beitrag, und zwar zu Fragen der Körpererziehung[13]. Zum Unionskongreß der Mitarbeiter der Volksbildung, der in der sowjetischen Reformdiskussion einen hohen Stellenwert inne hatte, wurde eine "Grußadresse des ZK der KPdSU"[14] nachgedruckt.

Noch im Jahre 1985 hatte der damalige Präsident der Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften Gerhart NEUNER der Zeitschrift geschrieben:

> "Ihre Zeitschrift, die ihre Aufgabe darin sieht, internationale Erfahrungen und Entwicklungen in Schulpolitik und Pädagogik sozialistischer Länder bekannt zu machen, trägt dazu bei, die Einheit und Geschlossenheit unserer Bruderländer auf bildungspolitischem Gebiet zu dokumentieren. Die erfolgreiche Auswertung der schulpolitischen und pädagogischen Erfahrungen unserer Bruderländer, insbesondere der Sowjetunion, weist die Überlegenheit des Sozialismus über den Bildungsverfall in den Hauptländern des Imperialismus immer offensichtlicher nach."[15]

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13 Bäskau, H.: Komplexprogramm für Körpererziehung an allgemeinbildenden Schulen der UdSSR. In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 25 (1989) 4, S. 392-396.

14 UdSSR: Grußadresse des ZK der KPdSU an den Unionskongreß der Mitarbeiter der Volksbildung (Dezember 1988). In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 25 (1989) 2, S. 217-220.

15 In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 21 (1985) 1, S. 3.

Die "wegweisende Rolle der sowjetischen Schule und Pädagogik" paßte angesichts der dort erhobenen Forderungen nach Humanisierung und Demokratisierung nicht mehr ins ideologische Konzept der Herrschenden in der DDR. Es ist daher auch nicht als Absage an ideologische Dogmen zu werten, wenn der langjährige Leiter der Arbeitsstelle für Auslandspädagogik, Hans Georg HOFMANN, 1989 von bisherigen Positionen abrückt und feststellt:

> "Während lange Zeit zur Weltspitze zählende Schulsysteme und deren Konzeptionen, wie zum Beispiel Schule und Pädagogik der Sowjetunion und der USA, eine orientierende und herausfordernde Kraft waren, ging ihr Einfluß seit Beginn der achtziger Jahre zurück."[16]

Die ideologische Absicht des Verfassers wird deutlich, wenn er im weiteren jene Staaten des Ostblocks hervorhebt, die ähnlich wie die DDR in alten stalinistischen Strukturen und Denkmechanismen beharrten.

> "Neue Schulsysteme und deren theoretische und praktische Entwicklungen wie in Japan, Frankreich, Österreich, aber auch in der ČSSR, in Rumänien, in der DDR, in der Koreanischen Volksrepublik, in Kuba, traten ... in das Zentrum des wissenschaftlichen Weltinteresses."[17]

Die in der zweiten Hälfte der achtziger Jahre erfolgte Rückbesinnung auf eine "marxistisch/leninistische Vergleichende Pädagogik" und die Orientierung der Untersuchungen auf grundlegende Tendenzen der internationalen Entwicklung waren nicht Ergebnis einer kritischen Reflexion der eigenen Entwicklung, sie waren Ausdruck einer erzwungenen Anpassung im Zeichen beginnender grundlegender politischer, ökonomischer und sozialer Wandlungsprozesse in Mittel- und Osteuropa.

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16 Hofmann, H.G.: Tendenzen der internationalen Bildungsentwicklung. In: Vergleichende Pädagogik, 25 (1989) 4, S. 365.
17 a.a.O.

Botho von Kopp

Global Changes and the Context of Education, Democracy and Development in Eastern Europe

Summary:

The following essay deals with several aspects of change in Eastern, post-communist Europe. This change – often labelled as "transformation" when seen as a goal-directed process – is itself embedded in a global context. It hints at a fundamental change of paradigmatic, social, political and power structures. In the given context of austerity policy and market ideology a new exclusiveness of education and a possible decay of the comparatively remarkable educational infrastructure in Eastern Europe (and not only there) cannot be excluded. A conservative revolution also evokes reactionary and chauvinistic tendencies – which might cause repercussions in the whole of Europe. The events in Eastern Europe are another example that democracy is not the outcome of a singular act of revolution – notwithstanding its necessity in order to overcome dictatorial structures – but a permanent task.

Globaler Wandel und der Zusammenhang von Bildung, Demokratie und Entwicklung in Osteuropa

Zusammenfassung:

Der folgende Essay befaßt sich mit verschiedenen Aspekten des Wandels im östlichen, post-kommunistischen Europa. Zweifellos ist dieser Wandel – der unter dem Aspekt eines zielgerichteten Prozesses meist als „Transformation" bezeichnet wird – eingebettet in globale Zusammenhänge. Diese deuten selbst auf einen fundamentalen Wandel paradigmatischer, sozial- und machtpolitischer Strukturen hin. Im gegebenen Kontext von Sparpolitik und Vermarktungsideologie zeichnet sich eine neue Exklusivität von Bildungschancen und ein Abbau der insgesamt beachtlichen Infrastruktur der Bildungssysteme in Osteuropa, und nicht nur dort, ab. Eine konservative Wende weckt auch reaktionäre und nationalistische Tendenzen, die Rückwirkungen auf ganz Europa haben können. So gesehen sind die Ereignisse in Osteuropa ein weiteres Beispiel dafür, daß Demokratie nicht Folge eines singulären revolutionären Aktes ist, so notwendig dieser auch sein mag, um diktatorische Strukturen zu überwinden, sondern eine permanente Aufgabe.

1. The context of change and the crisis of modern industrial society

The explanation of social change was a central issue of nineteen's century social science. True, there were different theories, but in general all of them – those defining change as an revolutionary act and those defining it as evolutionary development – were based on the idea of a future-oriented process: the impact of change was seen in the triumph over, as it was felt, the insufficiencies of the past. Change created something that had not existed before. In the optimistic interpretations of the nineteen's century these changes were generally interpreted as „progress". In modern sociology, until recently, theories of change on a macro-level certainly have not vanished but stepped back somewhat in favour of middle-range theories on change of subsystems, institutions, and social groups rather than transformation of whole societies. However, in face of the present changes which seem to be both profound and global, social science and humanities are confronted with a new phase of societal change and thus are in need of theoretical explanations and models helping to analyse the situation.

One of the characteristics of the ongoing changes, and this makes them different from the dynamics and ideologies of those changes based in the nineteenth century, is a kind of looking back, an attempt to recover lost knowledge, meaning and structures. It is, as if society needed a „pausing for breath". We find this tendency as a new interest in historical values and structures, not seldom used or propagated as a remedy against a crisis of identity and consensus, we find it in a possible shift towards Eurocentrism, religious fundamentalism, philosophical communitarism, a trendy mood of apocalypse, mysticism and esoterics or, in sum, as an all-embracing and fundamental criticism of modern rationalism in some concepts of „post-modernism". Its definitions show great diversity, but with regard to some basic characteristics some analysts, in search for an appropriate analogy, compare the future we are heading for with the Middle Ages, not only in respect to some superficial similarities, but both in respect to some functional characteristics and to „post-modernism" as an era, as it seems, between „no longer and not yet".

For Umberto Eco it is mainly the dominance of visualism in our civilisation, which reminds him of the Middle Ages, and indeed, a common interpretation of one of the features of post-modernism says that it is replacing the objects by their images. Others may have different basic assumptions but mostly come to similar conclusions about the growing importance of symbols over things. For example a Japanese social scientist, Taichi Sa-

kaya, identifies as the main factor of change in modern society the growing scarcity of resources[1]. The strategy in order to cope with scarcity for him consists of the devaluation of the material resources and of the creation of a new, immaterial, value structure and the production of symbols. This inexhaustible pool of resources can, in principle, be shared by all and future will bring, he argues, an end of classical mass production and mass consumption of identical products. Instead, an era of individualisation of production will come. In it, material worth will be replaced by highly diversified, individualised non-material values based on information – about the social value of goods – and on symbols. In this system of non- material priorities he sees the analogy with the Middle Ages.

Somewhat similar seems to be, what many analysts find future education might need most urgently: it is not so much knowledge of facts – „material value" so to say – but knowledge of relations, social competence and, as Martin Baethge (a reputed German social scientist) formulated, „the ability to decode symbols".

Another analyst, however, Manuela du Bois-Raymonds from Leyden, attracted recently some attention among educationalists in Germany, because she predicted the end of compulsory education systems as no longer fit to meet the requirements of future needs. She gave the following reasons for her argument: 1) the existing school system is not able to cope with growing individualisation of lifestyles and to integrate them into plausible and relevant processes of learning for its students; 2) youth has gained and still is gaining increasing power in many respects of society, but not so in school. There, power balance is kept only by a loss of educational engagement from the side of the school and a „quiet arrangement" between teachers and students not to disturb each other too much and to keep an atmosphere of camaraderie which du Bois-Reymonds finds to be symptomatic for modern schools; 3) knowledge is increasingly becoming a commercial good and a growing market sector outside schools offers skills and knowledge more effectively than school does.[2]

There is, however, criticism that those „post-modernistic" concepts of „individualisation" of values based on a „marketised" concept of society and a „commodification" of education is nothing else but a neo-conservative plot. In fact, many features of the present cultural, ethical, and politi-

1 Taiichi, S.: The Knowledge-Value Revolution. Tokyo 1991
2 Frankfurter Rundschau, April 2, 1992

cal changes have the character of a conservative revolution, which stabilises and gives legitimacy in a situation of growing global polarisation and antagonism between rich and poor, between those who have food, access to resources, capital, education and health care, and those who have not.

It is probably true that these present trends are connected with a deepening crisis of our system as a result of a growing scarcity of resources which must be exploited in order to keep the system running smoothly. Not only that the material resources are scarce, their processing and usage is becoming increasingly risky for the ecological balance. This crisis of the modern industrial system and the corresponding strains come to be expressed in culture and society in many ways.

2. Transformation

The change in the post-socialist countries is an essential part of global changes and at the same time unique. Sometimes this task of transforming societies so profoundly is compared with post-war Germany or with post-fascist Spain. But not only are, in spite of some similarities, the circumstances very different – these regimes were capitalist in essence, but also the political and economical context has changed – the mere dimensions of transforming the former socialist, non-market, dictatorial societies are huge: „transformation" this time refers to a set of about 20 states, a huge territory, some 430 million people and some hundreds of different ethnicities. There is no model and we do not dispose of theories on a transformation of such a character and of such dimensions. Apart from this, the first optimism cooled down: the upheavals against the old regimes gave the peoples new freedom, pride and hope. However, the real existing world order threw them directly from the „Second" into the „Third World" in some respects and in face of some economical data: Third World means to be exposed to tariffs against free international trade, to be helpless against the dictate of raw material prices, it means monthly wages of 50 or 150 Dollars on an average, huge disparities between social classes as well as political and social instability. All this has an enormous impact on the social coherence and the chances for democracy in the region. Transformation has to count also with the risks.

Generally the word „transformation" suggests that there is a clear starting point and an equally clear end point. The end point, to begin with, is to „become Western", and seen from there the starting point in the minds of

many concerned and observers is near zero. In reality, it might be one of the central problems better to understand the material social and cultural preconditions of transformation: transformation of the former Eastern bloc is implicitly and explicitly most often connected with the idea of modernisation. Certainly technology – both technology of production and of political leadership was helplessly outdated – although modernisation was the rationale of communist ideology. In this sense, modernisation is most needed and one might speak of a „belated" or „catching-up-modernisation". But does that mean that the societies in question should copy „more modern" societies or should they take up the threads after an interrupt of some 40 years or more, or are there other options?

I think there is a lack of analyses of the starting positions. Not so much analysis of the old regime's deficits in respect to the goal of transformation: free market and political pluralism – these deficits are evident and abundantly documented – but of the functional character of the former societies in respect to a relevant theory of change and transformation. Unfortunately, there is not only lack of analysing the starting position, but the goals and the ways of how to achieve the goals are somewhat nebulous sometimes: not only that Western mass-industrial society in itself is quite diversified, but this type of technologically and economically modern society has become – exactly for its high level of development – a „risk-society" as some analysts call it[3]. However, not to transform into this risk-society seems to be equally very risky.

Theoretically there are several possibilities of modelling transformation in the sense of modernisation:

1) a model based on the philosophy copying of the highly modernised societies;
2) a model of an utopian modernisation; it's designers could try to draft a „better", an „authentic" modernisation or, as for that, something like a „third-road-modernisation" trying to avoid the problems and losses of non- or anti-modernisation as well as those of modernisation;
3) a model which would be critical against the present stage of Western modernisation but which would, rather than aspiring to find a third road base its philosophy on the very principles of modernisa-

3 Beck, U.: Risikogesellschaft – Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1986. (Edition Suhrkamp. 1365).

tion, that is, rationality and emancipation, arguing that historical modernisation in many ways has not yet fulfilled the promises of the classical modernisation project; a German scholar call this „reflexive Modernisierung"[4];

4) a „selective modernisation" based on a pragmatic analysis of modernisation gaps on the one hand and priorities and means available in the given country on the other. This model counts with a significant difference of the modernisation levels which cannot be levelled quickly;
5) a „partial modernisation"; the correspondent strategy would be based explicitly on the character of the former socialist societies as „partially modernised" societies and it would concentrate on modernising the non-modern features of these societies. This strategy, however, would have to be based on a more profound analysis of the modernistic and anti-modernistic strategies and on the outcomes of these strategies in the different subsystems of former socialist countries;
6) a model which makes use of selected pre-modern features, structures and institutions of the former regimes in order to promote modernisation. Some analysts, in the light of some general tendencies in the former Eastern bloc which show a tendency to combine inherited structures (of centralised and hierarchical control) with rules of a market economy, see exactly this model of a „complementary modernisation"-strategy being realised[5].

What place has education in these models? If one analysies education under the old regimes, one will find that it was this subsystem which perhaps more visibly than many others was characterised by the above mentioned aspect of „partial modernisation." Educational policy in the respective countries stressed from the very beginning of erecting the socialist regimes most consequently the modernistic issues of massification of education (alphabetisation in the underdeveloped countries), access to higher levels of education for those classes of society which had been more or less excluded from education, integration of general and vocational education, a general high esteem for technical and technology education and so on.

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4 see note Nr. 3.
5 Balá, J./Bobach R.: Transformation als Modernisierung – eine Diskussionsskizze. In: IGW-Nachrichten, (1992) 3, pp. 27-52.

Apart from the fact that expansionist educational policy slowed down or stagnated since the seventies both for political and financial reasons, from the very beginning one equally can find anti-modernistic trends which result from the totalitarian, mechanistic philosophy of leadership and, correspondingly, a voluntaristic, dictatorial praxis of planning, controlling and executing the educational system.

Summarising these characteristics one might say that educational infrastructure was highly modernised – especially in the formerly less developed countries modernisation achievements surpassed at times clearly those of the non-socialist countries – but this infrastructure produced an education which in effect was anti-modern in its contents and functions – then especially in those of social and civic learning. Whereas in the Western countries the school system tried to react on the changing context of an highly developed industrial society which has become definitely more flexible, more pluralistic, and is based on a system of intrinsic control, the school system in the former socialist countries conserved a type of school typical for the time of early industrialisation and based on extrinsic control.

As far as the ongoing changes and transformation strategies in the Eastern European countries already had impacts on the educational systems, a trend becomes visible which is quite paradoxical: certainly the contents and functions of school on the one hand become rapidly more modern in the sense mentioned above, on the other hand restorative tendencies have appeared: the structure of the educational system is becoming much more flexible everywhere. Partly this is due to the particular phase of change in which different ways and compromises are sought. Thus, in most cases the question how many years should the grammar school be attented, respectively if the old pre-war system should be restored or not, led to a variety of different forms where anything between four- to eight-year types of upper secondary grammar schools („gymnasium") can be found at the same time. In addition, there is a variety of experiments both with school types and with an inner differentiation of the curricula of the same school type. However, although there is a general acceptance of a consumer-oriented restructuring of the educational system, this is not easy to carry out partly for financial restrictions and partly for the great variety of opinions and consumer aspirations.

It is part of the complicated situation in the respective countries that not only necessary and progressive changes occur but also changes adopted or sought after out of nostalgia or, worse, ultra-conservatism and

nationalism. Particularly, church affiliated groups try to get more influence over education especially in the field of „morals" and „ethics". Some of these issues are clearly reactionary like the official publication of the Polish Education Ministry's School Reform Bureau, which recommends the re-introduction of physical punishment in schools: „Physical punishment, as long as it is not too painful and frequent, provides the child with the positive emotion of physical closeness to the tutor ..."[6].

In most of the new emerged states of the former Soviet Union, educational policy tries to restore the own cultural and national heritage as a basis for language of instruction, literature, civics and history teaching. Not seldom the newly gained sovereignty turns against the educational aspirations of the non-majority ethnic groups. In parts where acute conflicts arose, where even is war, we do not know how school and education react in this situation, but is it realistic to expect school to resist general nationalistic moods?

One of the most serious problems seems to be the financial situation in the context of a mixed application of rude market-philosophy on the one hand and of state control on the other. In this respect, the changes have brought with them developments which seriously endanger the achieved level of educational infrastructure in most of the respective states.

This development, however, is to be seen again in the context of more global trends of change: the development of education after World War II was based on an idea of democratisation which not only incited a huge alphabetisation movement and the massification of middle and higher educational enrolment, but which propagated the conviction that modern society is obliged to secure education as a basic human right, to compensate educational handicaps and to take educational care for all. It goes without saying that the enormous global expansion of education in these decades was not based on mere idealism: political sciences, sociology and last but not least economy provided theories which underlined the importance of education for the functioning of modern democracy and economy.

This context has changed: some of the assumptions on the correspondence between education and economic growth were too simple. The so called first oil-shock resulted in a slow-down of economic growth and the

6 Quoted from: R. Pachocinski: Survey Study into Conditions, Problems and Policy of Education in Central Europe. Conference Paper. Warsaw/Amsterdam, August 1992

last decade of recession and austerity policy has only added to the change. Also in Eastern Europe the new ideology has liquidated, together with communism, its ideology of mass education as a paramount factor of creating the „new man" as well as a factor of production. Often the wish to transform the old system, which is seen to be responsible for all past and present drawbacks, results in the wish to turn back to the opposite. Thus there seems to be a general mood among educationalists in Eastern Europe which strongly favours the philosophy of concurrence and differentiation in education and denounces comprehensive schooling as „communist" and ineffective. Apart from this, it is also in line with the logic of new economics that new criteria for effectiveness in education emerge and become dominant: the market preferably directs investment there, where profit can be realised safely and quickly. In educational terms that means to invest into those children and adolescents who are the most talented or the most clever or the most fit to withstand stress and strain – or whose parents are able to buy the critical item education.

3. Integration and Disintegration

There is a global trend towards integration, be it politically and economically as „internationalisation", be it culturally as „multiculturalism", be it technically as global networks of communication. The role of international agencies grew considerably in the last few years. At the same time there are disintegrative tendencies: new nationalism, even tribalism, fundamentalism and economical polarisation. At the first sight, the trends seem to be very different in Western and Eastern Europe, on the other hand a peculiar combination of both, integrative and disintegrative tendencies, is typical for both parts although there is a difference in emphasis and historical background.

In the West we find – despite recent drawbacks – an emphasis on transnational integration represented in the European Community, although its strong bureaucrasy causes that many people become increasingly concerned about the abstractness of processes and structures felt to be totally out of their control. Apart from this, and in respect to the more than 20 states in North, Middle and Eastern Europe, waiting for an European integration, it is very questionable if the European Community, which was founded and has developed under specific conditions, can continue just like before without a serious re-evaluation and probably some changes in order to cope with the new challenges. The European integra-

tion process, some few years ago looked upon very optimistically is now in serious troubles, although the European idea still is alive.

In spite of the mentioned global tendencies of integration, disintegrative forces did not cease to exist even in Western Europe (Northern Ireland, Bask province, Corsica, etc.). On the contrary, some strengthened (Scotland) or even emerged anew (Northern Italy). It is not possible to say if this trend will end in the creation of ever smaller state units or a new infrastructure of regional units. Both state centred nationalistic and anti-state regionalistic even urbanistic ideologies can be found.

True, mobilisation of national and ethnic movements is ambiguous: it played, at least in the context of modern industrial society, a paramount role in the process of economic and political development and transformation. On the other hand it is one of the least controlable and most destructive forces of modernisation. The new nationalism in Eastern Europe and the corresponding disintegrative tendencies have often an atavistic, dull and in some regions a cruel appearance. Is this then an aspect of the above mentioned „catching-up modernization" meaning that there is an unchangeable pattern of becoming a nation and that all the sometimes cruel and painful historical stages the established nations went through have to be repeated by the new nations? This is, indeed, not a pleasant perspective. On the other hand, how can we not concede the right of searching for identity and a state-form to emerging nations by applying the same seriousness we use towards established nations and states, be they small or large?

Generally the question of ethnic groups, minorities and nation gives a new importance to what was until recently believed to be problems of the past. As far as minorities are acknowledged as such, they have (at least formally) nearly all over Europe a certain status which grants them special group rights, one of them being the right of education in the minority's language. In a context of nationalism, however, minorities are easily provoked (or as for that: forced) to follow political philosophies which add to the disintegrative tendencies in a given region.

Still, the migration of huge numbers of people into and across Europe might become more important, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Perhaps the numbers of migrants sometimes predicted, speaking of tens of millions to come mainly from the former Soviet Union and from Africa, are exaggerated. However, migration is a reality, and not to see that Europe has become an immigration area is to close the eyes in front of real-

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ities. As far as the immigrants within the decades since World War II are concerned, they are nowhere seen as „minorities" despite the fact that some immigrant ethic groups outnumber the figures for minorities by far in most Western European countries and despite the fact that a certain fraction of them is living in a „foreign" country in the third or forth generation. Perhaps less the pressure of immigration, but the incompetence and paralysis of today's policy in this respect is a problem: its outcome cannot but be a growing racism and thus a strengthening of disintegrative tendencies.

Disintegration has equally increased in countries which aspired to create new integrated cultural and ethnic identities. Although perhaps the United States are the only (so far) functioning multi-ethnic society, one does no longer speak in America of a „melting pot", but rather of a „salad bowl" society, in which the respective ethnic and cultural groups more and more drift apart. Similarly – under due consideration of the differences – the „melting-pot-policy" of the former USSR was a failure. Vitalij Kostomarov, former president of the Academy of Educational Sciences of the USSR, recently gave a self-critical résumé in which he came to the conclusion that the former cultural policy had failed totally in this respect. As a basic principle of this policy, Russian language was proclaimed to become the „second mother tongue" for the non-Russian population of the USSR on the one hand, and the special ideological construct of the „multinational soviet culture" was developed on the other hand, which was proclaimed to be „socialist in its content and national in its form"[7].

Probably we will have to learn, that the principle of ethnically homogenous nation-states has become more than ever a fiction, but also that the traditional politics of assimilation, integration or „melting" have failed. But how then could new structures be found ? Certainly, there is no easy answer to this question, but equally certain is, that we need a new balance between individual, group, local, regional, national and transnational identities and rights. One could well imagine that the borders of functional systems, for instance legal systems, until now coinciding with the state border become more open and more diversified without demolishing them and without interfering with each other. Perhaps something like that could have emerged from disintegrating Czechoslovakia, where

7 Kostomarov, V.: Sprachen und Kulturen in der Sowjetunion. Forschungsbericht. Frankfurt am Main: Deutsches Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung 1992.

Slovaks asked for „full sovereignty" in a common state. In any case, Europe will need such experiments of many different, innovative, and even seemingly „impossible" forms of coexistence beyond centralism on the one and separatism on the other hand.

There is one recent event which ran counter to all present tendencies of supranational integration resp. national disintegration, and this was German unification. Since Germany will hold a key position in the relationship between Western and Eastern Europe, this context deserves special attention: unified Germany was put suddenly into the position of greater influence and even greater potential power and it is the question if it is prepared to deal with this situation in a manner which is just and fair in its content and diplomatic and sophisticated in its form. To find such an appropriate way of acting as a strong power is not at all easy. One should not forget, that Germany lacks (has lost long ago) the tradition of handling a European power position in a decent way. After unification in 1871 the German model of power in Europe was that of hegemony. This of course was not an original German idea, but it was a German and [illegible] European tragedy that Germany, as a young and dynamic power, did not find the appropriate philosophy according to its power position, but behaved like the typical parvenu.

Interestingly, at the same time when in Germany and Japan (in a somewhat varied form in the Soviet Union), countries competing to enter the club of the world powers, strength was interpreted as the absolute superiority of the own culture, system and/or race and a general disrespect of others, in America on the other hand, the philosophy of „cultural relativism" not only as a social scientific school, but as a general idea, penetrated the whole society. Without this „culture of cultural relativism" the United States could probably not have become the 20th century world power they are: it was this general ideology of respecting poly-culturalism which enabled many societies to accept not only the power position of the US, but also to accept a certain Americanization, which, in the given context, proved to be perhaps the only road of modernisation. All kinds of ideologies of exclusivity, hegemony and dominance, however, will lead in Europe (and as for that: everywhere else) sooner or later into catastrophy.

However, not all recent German diplomatic moves towards Eastern Europe are encouraging. It is not only the suspicion that German diplomacy deepened (if not triggered) the Yugoslavian drama. It is also regrettable that once again a treaty with Czechoslovakia ended up to be ratified in a context of ambiguity over the interpretations of the past and suspicions of

claims for the future. Apart from this, a Czech newspaper reported that the German President von Weizsäcker mentioned in Prague that „Germany has a particular relationship with Czechoslovakia. Similar to that which has France with Algeria or Portugal with Brazil"[8] Czechs who heard these words, were told to be surprised by this comparison since they don't feel that they have been ever a German colony. One also hardly could believe that the president wanted to evoke the reminiscence of the „protectorate" 1939-45. What then, did he really mean? Or was he only unable to put into unequivocal words what he meant? On the other hand there is sometimes criticism from the left in Czechoslovakia itself, saying the new governmental policy would follow a „protectorate-concept". This of course is not my task to judge.

In any case, both, a protectorate attitude as well as a Germanophobia are dangerous: the post-war era in Europe is over, Germany has changed and so did his neighbours. The transformations and changes we are witnessing and are parts of, impose, however, great responsibility on us in order not to waste what has been gained.

Another question which arises here, is, if hints at „protectorate-relations" have not perhaps become presentable once again. In fact, political thinking in this respect seems to have changed dramatically: unthinkable still some few years ago, that a reputed and critical analyst of political science could have suggested „new forms" of economical help for the „mini-republics" in former Yugoslavia, by means of a co-operation with „'patron-nations' – the Slovenes perhaps with the Austrian, the Croats with Germany and Italy"[9]. Again: looking at the global context it seems that these arguments are completely in line with a more general „new thinking": In an editorial about the dramatic situation in Africa the German magazine „Der Spiegel" wrote that „a sort of humanistic colonialism will hardly be avoidable", in addition quoting a British expert who asks similarly: „is time ripe for a new imperialism?"[10]. Perhaps nothing can illustrate clearer the apparent direction change is taking presently. Since history has very few examples indeed for a „benevolent protectionism" and a „humanitarian imperialism", this direction is not only backward but also dangerous.

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8 Rudé právo, July 5, 1991.
9 E. Altvater on an international peace conference organised in April 1992 in Sarajevo by „Helsinki Forum" and other groups: „Die Festung Europa muß ihre Zugbrücken herunterlassen". In: Frankfurter Rundschau, April 3, 1992.
10 Der Spiegel, (1992) 51, p. 152 and J. MacManus, ibid. p. 153.

4. Conclusion

It might be questionable if we, as some believe, face changes which are so all-embracing and of such a kind that they only can be described as an allegedly new era of „Middle Ages". On the other hand – different concepts of „post-industrialism" reflect upon it – modern society is exposed to substantial changes. They are not the least caused by a general crisis. The growing scarcity of resources which can well mean the end of mass production and mass consumers society, is a crisis which affects the core of modern industrial society, namely the expansive exploitation of nature.

There are two main strategies, how to cope with scarcity of ressources: to re-distribute of the given ressources or to find new ressources. Those could, after all – if material ressources come to an end – well be immaterial ones like meaning, symbols and information. Hints for both strategies, a conservative revolution which fixes the gap between haves and have-nots as well as the search for new paradigms, can be found.

The consequences of the first, however, will have their impact on the educational and social systems for many years: whereas the contents and the methods of teaching have definitively be modernised (and are going to be modernised in Eastern Europe right now), there is a change in the global tendencies of educational systems which tend to become more stratified again. Perhaps, in the wake of the changed social policy and social ideology, obligatory school attendance might come more and more under attack. Was the slogan which expressed best the post-Second-World- War policy the „chance for education", later the „right for education", in the so called socialist countries even: the „obligation for education", than the new slogan could become the „privilege of education".

In the modern sense of the meaning of the word „democracy", this new tendency is not increasing democratic tendencies in Europe. As for the contents of education in the context of integration – but also disintegration – in Europe, it must be clearly seen that education is not a decisive factor of social change as sometimes was believed. On the other hand, the education system is relatively autonomous and the actors of this system decide if they become the mere transmitters of political programmes, or worse, of atavistic spirits, or if they stay aside, or if education – many pedagogues and scientists hold this to be the most important core task of the education system – is preserving and passing on with its peculiar system-"language" the message of humanism.

III. Asien und Afrika/Asia and Africa

Fu Li

Inspiring Achievements and Hard Tasks Ahead

A Study on the Recent Development of Literacy Education in the People's Republic of China

Summary:

The rapid social and economic development in China in recent years has posed new requirements for the cause of education, especially for literacy education, an important part of the cause of education. In the continuous efforts made by both the central government and local authorities in the past few years, large amounts of manpower, materials and finance have been devoted to literacy education and inspiring progress has been made. But, there is still a long way to go before realising the goal of wiping out illiteracy in China in the near future. To solve the existing problems, the Chinese government is now adopting specific measures to push literacy education to a new stage to meet the needs of China's modernisation programme.

Anregende Erfolge und schwierige künftige Aufgaben Eine Untersuchung der jüngsten Entwicklungen auf dem Gebiet der Alphabetisierung in der Volksrepublik China

Zusammenfassung:

Die beschleunigte gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der letzten Jahre in China stellt neue Anforderungen an die Sache der Bildung und Erziehung, insbesondere an die Alphabetisierung, einen wichtigen Teilbereich der Sache der Bildung und Erziehung. Im Verlauf der ständigen Anstrengungen, die sowohl die Zentralregierung als auch die örtlichen Behörden in den letzten Jahren unternommen haben, wurden große Mengen von Mitarbeitern, Materialien und Geldmitteln für die Alphabetisierung aufgewandt und begeisternde Fortschritte erzielt. Dennoch ist es noch ein langer Weg bis das Ziel, den Analphabetismus in China in naher Zukunft zu beseitigen, erreicht sein wird. Um die vorhandenen Probleme zu lösen, ergreift die chinesische Regierung zur Zeit besondere Maßnahmen, um die Alphabetisierung auf ein neues Niveau anzuheben und damit den Bedürfnissen des chinesischen Modernisierungsprogramms gerecht zu werden.

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1. Introduction

So far, there are altogether 965 million illiterates in the world. According to the statistics of the fourth census in China in 1990, the total number of illiterates in China then was 180 million, accounting for 15.88% of the total population of the country. The illiteracy problem is not only the outcome of ignorance and poverty, but also the carrier of ignorance and poverty. And also, illiteracy is a huge barrier for the social and economic development. It is especially the case in China when it is making every endeavour to further develop its economy and realise the modernisation programme. Therefore, the Chinese government considers literacy education a strategic task for improving the quality of the whole nation and rejuvenating China's economy. Over the past few years, the central government has been working out a series of documents and stipulations concerning literacy education, which have played an important role in promoting and guiding the development of literacy education in China. The local authorities have also made continuous efforts in implementing the policies of the central government and a large amount of manpower, materials and finance have been put in literacy education programmes. Consequently, obvious and inspiring achievements have been obtained. In 1990, about 5,6 million people were enrolled in the literacy education and 3.99 million became literates, and the situation in 1991 was even better: 6 million people took part in the activities of literacy education programmes and 3 million people became literates. The percentage of illiterates in the total population has been decreased from 22.81% in 1982 to 15.88% in 1990. The distribution of illiterates in different stages of age is as follows: 9.3% at the ages between 15 and 40; 10.4% at the ages between 15 and 45; and 11.9% at the ages between 15 and 50.

In recent years, literacy education in the rural areas has achieved remarkable success. More than 50% of the counties have wiped out illiteracy among the people between the ages of 15 and 45. Since 1984, Bazhong County of Sichuan Province, Jilin Province, Wulian County of Shandong Province, Hunan Province, Songtao County of Guizhou Province and Xiping County of Henan Province have won in succession international awards for literacy education given by UNESCO.

2. The Features of Literacy Education in China

Since the Year of International Literacy Education in 1990, literacy education in China has been enjoying an unprecedented high tide of its devel-

opment, and remarkable achievements have been made. By summing up the success of literacy education in China during the past few years, we can see that the following aspects of features guaranteed the fruitful outcome of literacy education efforts.

(1) Literacy education in China has entered the orbit guaranteed by law. In February of 1988, the State Council issued the Regulation for Wiping out Illiteracy for the purpose of guaranteeing the healthy development of literacy education and preventing from deviations. The Regulation is an overall document for guiding the development of literacy education throughout the country. It contains not only the long-term aim, but also the specific steps and the relevant requirements, thus changing the past practice of guiding literacy education with temporary administrative instructions. This marked the strategic step of China's literacy education's entering law-guaranteed orbit. After the State Council issued the Regulation for Wiping out Illiteracy, governments at different levels attached great importance to literacy education. They immediately went into action for implementing the requirements of the Regulation. In most provinces and autonomous regions, the education departments worked together with other relevant sectors and issued jointly the measures for carrying out the Regulation. And also, the content of literacy education was included into the objectives of office terms of leaders at different levels. The accountability system was also introduced into the work of literacy education. Thus, the plans and system of literacy education at all levels were worked out and established. In some areas, the double-accountability system was also established. Namely, the leaders of the county government signed contract for wiping out illiteracy with leaders of townships and villages, while the director of education bureau at county level signed contracts with principals of township-run schools. In the contracts, the objectives, responsibilities, forms of activities and the time table for wiping out illiteracy were all included and were stipulated as an important content in evaluating the achievements of responsible leaders. By doing so, literacy education is guaranteed with clearly-defined objectives, special facilities and personnel, and an ideal environment of paying attention to literacy education by the whole society is created.

(2) It is important and decisive to introduce scientific knowledge and skills into the content of literacy education. China is a developing country with agricultural production as the base of the national economy. More than 80% of the population and 92% of the illiterates live in rural areas. Since the cultural level and quality of the labourers in rural areas directly decides the efficiency of agricultural production, it is obvious that the

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focal point of literacy education in China is in rural areas. After the implementation of the family-responsibility-system of agricultural production in rural areas, the productive forces are greatly liberated and great vigour and vitality are brought into rural economy. The rapid development of agriculture requires the adoption of modern agricultural technology, but the rural areas in China are suffering from a shortage of skilled manpower with modern scientific and technological knowledge and the farmers cannot meet the needs of modern agriculture. The low ability of farmers makes it very difficult to popularise modern agricultural technology and about 70% of the newest results of agricultural research cannot be applicated and disseminated in rural areas. This is a huge obstacle for the further development of agriculture and for the improvement of farmer's standard of living. Therefore, the farmers have very strong interest and initiative in learning modern agricultural science and technology. In many areas, the relevant sectors of literacy education make full use of the potential motive force by introducing the knowledge of modern agricultural science and technology into literacy education and help the illiterates learn to read and write in the process of mastering scientific knowledge and technical skills. In some areas, the relevant departments concerning literacy education have also compiled the reading materials of modern agricultural knowledge, which are highly commented and evaluated by farmers. The combination of learning scientific knowledge with learning to read and write has enabled the farmers to realise the importance of literacy education and has kept them in taking part in the activities of literacy education conscientiously.

(3) The continuing education of new literates has been attached emphasis in rural areas. Along with the development of literacy education in rural areas, more and more people become new literates. Continuing education for them is becoming more and more important. In the past, there used to be such cases that most of the new literates became illiterates not long after leaving the literacy classes as a result of no chance of further improvement. To prevent the new literates from forgetting what they have learned, the best way is to create conditions for them to apply what they have learned to their daily life and to further improve themselves in agricultural techniques. In most of the areas, the new literates are organised to attend different kinds of activities such as short-term training classes, mobile lectures, broadcast schools, groups of self-learning, special technical training classes etc. Most of the activities are concentrated on popular cultural and technical education, and the above activities are organised jointly by sectors of literacy education and adult education. Such doing

contributes to a good connection between literacy education and adult education in rural areas.

In order to guarantee the quality of literacy education in the meantime of expanding the size and increasing the speed, the training of teachers and cadres of literacy education is also given more emphasis. Among the forms of training are not only the national training classes but also the local rotative training classes. In some provinces the special cadres of literacy education are organised to learn applied techniques for agricultural production so as to meet the requirement of new literates' continuing education.

3. The Existing Problems

There is no doubt that literacy education in China has made remarkable achievements, which have laid a solid base for the further development of literacy education. But, the task for the next eight years is very hard. The Chinese government has set the aim of wiping out illiteracy among young and middle-aged people by the end of this century. The statistics of China's fourth census in 1990 showed that there were then 180 million illiterates, second only to the number of illiterates in India. The number of illiterates at the ages between 15 and 40 was 50 million, 70% of whom were women. If 4 million illiterates become literates each year, 12.5 years are needed to enable all the 50 million illiterates to become literates (not including the number of new illiterates). That is to say, to realise the overall aim of wiping out illiteracy among young and middle-aged people, at least 5 million illiterates must become literates each year from 1990, while putting an end to the emergence of new illiterates. So it is obvious that the task is very hard and there is a long way to go.

In analysing the present situation of literacy education in China, the following problems can be found:

Firstly, in some places the importance and urgency of literacy education have not been realized by the leaders and people. The mood of weariness and fear exists among people, so literacy education cannot last long. The low level of understanding resulted in the ignorance of literacy education and the wrong treatment of literacy education as temporary task. It is often the case that literacy education is put aside after the examination of higher-level authorities. Recent investigations showed that literacy education in some districts has not been carried out to its full extent. Some local

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governments have not yet placed literacy education on the agenda and the system of examination and report has not been set up.

Secondly, there are still the problems of new-emerging illiterates and re-illiterates. According to the recent survey, the new illiterates are emerging in the trend of low ages. This shows that the drop-outs of primary and secondary schools are the main source of new illiterates. In remote areas, minority-nationality areas and mountain areas, the enrollment rate of school-age pupils is low and most of the children out of school gate will become new illiterates. The state stipulates that the starting age for literacy education is 15-years old. Among those children below the age of 15, some are not enrolled in school, some are drop-outs and some are unqualified school leavers. Actually, they are out of the gate of basic education and also are not the target group of literacy education. Along with the passing of time, they become illiterates automatically. Among the new illiterates are the children of floating families, who cannot go to school because their parents move very often and have no fixed residence. There are even some children who help their parents do business instead of going to school. The speed of emergence of new illiterates almost reaches 2 million every year, half of the number of people who become literates every year. This has greatly reduced the effectiveness of literacy education in China.

Thirdly, the input of manpower, materials and finance into literacy education cannot satisfy the requirements of literacy education. In some areas, there are not enough special cadres responsible for literacy education and the facilities are poor. Although the input of finance increases each year, the increase cannot keep the rate of development of literacy education.

Fourthly, in some districts the quality of literacy education is not up to standard. For example, the teaching hours are not enough and the teaching materials are not integrated with the agricultural production, ignoring the practical needs of learners.

Fifthly, the continuing education of new literates has not been given appropriate attention in some places. No plans are made for the timely continuing education of new literates and no reading materials for the new literates are compiled, resulting in the emergence of a lot of re-illiterates.

4. Measures to Be Taken

Facing the serious situation and hard task ahead, the State Education Commission has taken a series of measures. Especially in November and December of 1990, at the approval of the State Council, the State Education Commission and other relevant departments sent a task force for investigating the realities of literacy education in China. Nine provinces and autonomous regions were surveyed. On the basis of statistics released in March of 1991, the State Education Commission in October 1991 issued instructions for further strengthening literacy education throughout the country. In the next few years, the following efforts will be made for creating a new situation of literacy education in China.

(1) Every means should be utilised to publicise the significance and urgency of literacy education for China's modernisation programme. All the departments of education, culture and mass media should co-operate in arousing the attention of the whole society to literacy education. The environment of literacy education should be created that all the educated people help illiterates read and write, and that all the illiterates take part in certain kind of activities of literacy education.

(2) Governments at all levels must include literacy education in the plans of social and economic development and concrete measures and clearly-defined steps must be worked out for implementing the National Stipulation on Wiping out Illiteracy. In those places where compulsory primary education has not been popularised, school education should closely co-operate with literacy education, while those places where compulsory primary education has been universalised should continue their efforts to enable all the young and middle-aged illiterates to become literates within five years. The aim for those places where there are not young and middle-aged illiterates is to reduce the rate of illiterates to below 5% within five years.

(3) Efforts should be made to put an end to the emergence of new illiterates below the age of 15. All the local governments and departments of education should do a good job in popularising compulsory primary education, especially in raising the enrollment rate of school-age children and reducing the rate of drop-outs. The local educational sectors should take the responsibility for re-enrolling those school leavers below the age of 15 through the ways of persuasion, administrative measures and even legal measures.

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The teachers and senior students of rural schools should play their role in helping illiterates read and write at their working place and in leasure time.

(4) The method of combining literacy education with learning of knowledge in agricultural science and technology should be advocated for bringing into full play the enthusiasm of illiterates. It should also be noted that the content of scientific knowledge should meet the need of local productive realities so as to enable the farmers to keep interest in learning and to apply the knowledge in their production.

(5) More manpower, facilities and finance should be put into literacy education. The administrative set-ups for literacy education should be established and perfected. Each township must have at least a cadre responsible for literacy education and they should enjoy appropriate welfare treatment and regular training. The available facilities should be fully utilised and the facilities of rural schools can also be used to offer evening classes of literacy education and technical training. The problem of finance can be solved in many ways. For example, on the basis of guaranteeing regular allocate funds, the foundation of literacy education can also be established in rural areas.

(6) The scientific research on literacy education and the compilation of reading materials for new literates should be reinforced. In normal universities and institutes of adult-education research, the content of literacy education should be added and strengthened. On the basis of scientific research, successful experience in literacy education should be summed up timely and distributed for promoting the progress of literacy education.

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Gerhard Huck

UNESCO's Environmental Education Efforts in the Tanzanian Context

Summary:

Based on UNESCO's guidelines for the International Strategy for Action in the Field of Environmental Education and Training for the 1990s, this paper first identifies some of the pressing environmental problems of Tanzania like the detrimental or irrational use of natural resources, pollution, land degradation and desertification. Then it describes current approaches to tackling these problems through environmental education and finally embarks on some prospects and recommendations regarding environmental education through formal and non-formal education.

Die Anstrengungen der UNESCO auf dem Gebiet der Umwelterziehung in Tansania

Zusammenfassung:

Auf der Grundlage der UNESCO-Richtlinien der Internationalen Strategie auf dem Gebiet der Umwelterziehung und -ausbildung werden in diesem Vortrag zunächst einige der besonders drängenden Umweltprobleme in Tanzania herausgearbeitet, wie die naturbelastende oder irrationale Nutzung der natürlichen Ressourcen, die Umweltverschmutzung, die Abwertung des Bodens und die Versteppung. Danach werden aktuelle Bemühungen beschrieben, um diese Probleme durch Umwelterziehung anzugehen, und abschließend wird auf einige Ausblicke und Empfehlungen bezüglich der Umwelterziehung durch institutionelle und nicht-formale Bildungsmaßnahmen eingegangen.

1. Introduction

Tanzania belongs to the countries which try to tackle environmental problems seriously. The creation of a new Ministry of Natural Resources, Tourism and Environment and the establishment of the National Environment Management Council by Act No. 19 in 1983[1] are just two examples of the country's resolve in this area.

Environmental awareness seems to have markedly increased if one takes as a gauge the number and quality of recently held workshops and seminars (there have been at least 25 during the last couple of years), news articles and radio programmes dealing with environmental problems. If, despite the growing awareness and the increased number of actions, the problems are not solved or at least diminished, than either the applied strategy is inappropriate or not carried out intensively enough.

Today it is generally agreed that environmental problems result from socio-economic situations and inappropriate human behaviour patterns which can not be simply changed only by legislating environmental laws and enforcing them, but also by going through a long and weary education and training both the formal and non-formal one. To cope with the challenge, education and training as the fundamental means of integration and social and cultural change are facing, we have to envisage objectives and employ new methods capable of making individuals more aware, more responsible and functionally better prepared for preserving the quality of the environment and life.

Following the guidelines in the International Strategy for Action in the Field of Environmental Education and Training for the 1990s[2] this paper tries to assess environmental education in Tanzania in an effort to:

- search for and suggest implementation of effective models of environmental education, training and information,

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1 An Act to provide for the establishment of the National Environment Management Council, to provide for its functions and for other matters related to and incidental to the establisment of that Council. Dar es Salaam: The United Republic of Tanzania, National Environment Management 1983.

2 International Strategy for Action in the Field of Environmental Education and Training for the 1990s. Unesco-UNEP International Environmental Education Programme (IEEP). Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation; Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme 1988.

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- suggest ways of raising general awareness of the causes and effects of environmental problems,
- suggest ways of obtaining general acceptance of the need for an integrated approach to solving these problems, and
- suggest appropriate training, at various levels, of the personnel needed for the rational management of the environment in view of achieving sustainable development at community and national levels.

The paper emerged after lengthy discussions with Tanzanian experts and should be seen as a try to offer some ideas for a democratic development in the field of environmental education[3]. We will first identify some of the pressing environmental problems of Tanzania, then describe current approaches to tackling these problems through environmental education and finally embark on some prospects and recommendations regarding environmental education.

2 Overview of environmental problems in Tanzania

2.1 Major environmental problems

Environmental problems in Tanzania are not just those of the detrimental or irrational use of natural resources and pollution. They include problems of underdevelopment, unemployment, bad sanitary condition, malnutrition, defective management and more generally, all problems which stem from poverty.

2.2 Physical factors

Tanzania is a large country characterised by a great diversity of climatic and physical conditions. There are three climatic zones: the hot and humid coast, the drier central plateau with seasonal variations of temperature and the semi-temperate mountains.

Tanzania's climate is under the influence of the two monsoons. By their interaction they give an annual pattern of one or two hot rainy seasons.

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3 Spaulding, S./Baaberg, B./Huck,G./Pernau, J.: Co-ordinated Non-Formal Education Programming for Out-of-School Youth in Tanzania. An action plan to develop self-reliance. Final Report Unesco Programming Mission. Paris 1991.

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The country's rainfall map is as diverse as are its physical features, the coast and mountains being the wettest and the land away from them the driest.

Large parts of Tanzania, especially the arid and the semi-arid areas, but also hilly slopes are affected by deforestation, are prey to environmental, mostly man-made damage, which tends to exert increasing pressure on available natural resources.

2.3 Demographic trends and settlement patterns

The physical diversity is mirrored in the human population which ranges from nomadic pastoralists to permanent cultivators. Tanzania's population-growth rate is about 2.8% per year. Forecasts estimate that the present population of about 23 million people will grow to 32 million by the year 2000. Approximately 80% of the population lives in villages and 20% in towns. By the turn of the century nearly one third of the population is expected to be urban. In some areas, villagisation has concentrated the rural population, both human beings and their animals, in limited geographical areas. Although there is a surplus of land as a whole, fertile land has thus become a relatively scarce resource. The growing imbalance in some of these areas between population and resources endangers long term sustainable development and calls for natural resource conservation.

A major rationale for villagisation was that it would facilitate the provision of services to cover the entire population rather than only small pockets of people settled in urban areas or in the more accessible and highly developed rural areas. However, along with the benefits to be derived from the close proximity of such services as health, nutrition and clean water, the uprooting of traditional life-styles and the creation of a new social unit have resulted in unforeseen social changes. Many of the villages have evolved into small "embryo" urban spots experiencing problems of over-crowding, sanitation, diseases, poverty, shelter and pollution.

2.4 Land use and productive systems

Farming systems in Tanzania evolved when both human and liverstock populations were small in comparison whith the available natural resources. However, despite the current growth of both human and live-

stock populations, the same farming systems are still being practised. These include pastoralism, agro-pastoralism, shifting cultivation, sedentary agriculture and others. The environmental weaknesses of these systems are therefore becoming more obvious. Thus there is a clear need to improve existing farming systems, to make them environmentally sound and in harmony with the present day conditions of increased pressures of human and livestock populations. Agricultural productivity also needs to be increased.

2.5 Sustainable energy supply

The demand for energy is expanding in both rural and urban areas. More than 90% of the population depends on woodfuel energy. In view of general inability of poor people to switch to other sources of energy, there is a need to promote energy-efficient utilisation of resources, such as more efficient stoves, along with tree growing programmes and agroforestry. In industrial and urban areas alternative sources of energy-should be sought and energy conservation schemes should be promoted.

2.6 Urbanisation and industry

Rapid urbanisation and the establishment of industries lead to increased pollution of both land and water resources. Apparent problems include: health hazards, squatter settlements and drainage measures to be taken before the situation gets out of control.The work needs to start with a few towns which are severely hit (Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Arusha, Tanga, Mbeya).

2.7 Wildlife and fishery resources

Tanzania's wildlife and fauna are world famous but they are threatened by poaching, shrinking forests and population pressure on fragile ecosystems. Fishery resources are threatened by dynamite fishing which destroys coral reefs. Agricultural pesticides and fertilizers are polluting rivers and lakes. Beaches have experienced severe erosion resulting in a retreat of the shoreline.

2.8 Land degradation and desertification

Only the most important aspects are to be named:

- poor agricultural practices (overgrazing, overcultivation, inappropriate farming methods, poor irrigation practices),
- deforestation (fires at various scales of destruction, charcoal making, cutting of trees for timber, fuelwood, and sculptural activities concentrating on particular species),
- destructive activities along the beach by natural agents and human activities (wind and wave action, tides; coral reefs activities such as collection of corals, shells, animals and plants; dynamite fishing and other fishing practices; cutting of mangroves, construction and irrigation along the shores, fishing in estuaries),
- destruction of wetlands due to agricultural activities and urbanisation resulting in sedimentation or destroyed wetlands,
- exploitation of wildlife (life threatened by deforestation, cultivation and pastoralism; hunting poaching and exportation of live species),
- introduction of new species in the new ecosystems (e.g. nile perch in Lake Victoria).

2.9 Pollution

Only a few kinds of pollution are mentioned:

- air pollution (chemical processes, combustions, agro-chemicals, etc.),
- water pollution (agricultural and industrial wastes, sediments, etc.),
- soil pollution (agro-chemicals, pesticides, etc.),
- food contamination (agro-chemicals, microbiota, etc.),
- noise.

3. Policy, administrative development and framework of environmental protection in Tanzania

At present there are about 50 Government departments, institutions, parastatal entities and non-governmental organisations (NGO's) which in one way or another are involved in environmental issues. The activities done by such bodies tend to be sector specific and work within the interests defined by the objectives of the bodies' mandates (legal, administrative or association). On occasions the roles do overlap if not conflict.

Some of the bodies do operate in so isolated conditions that at times they do not appear environmental or disregard other sectors they operate in. Those operating under Acts of Parliament believe in and strongly react to apparent interference with their statutory roles to the extent that they disadvantage any co-ordinative roles by national bodies.

The Tanzanian resources should be nurtured in order to provide the greatest benefits to the greatest number of people. It is in this regard that Tanzania is formulating a National Conservation Strategy (NCS) which is supposed to become the guiding policy pertaining to all environmental matters. The country is also preparing a comprehensive national environmental legislation. Both the policy (NCS) and the legislation are meant to remedy insufficiencies so far existing and to provide a co-ordinative role between the present discrete or sectoral policies and laws.

The policy and legislation is supposed to enable the National Environment Management Council to execute its mandate of overseeing, coordinating, catalysing and promoting all environmental activities.

4 Current approaches to environmental education in Tanzania

4.1 General remarks

Since the Arusha Declaration education policy in Tanzania has been geared to the building up of an egalitarian society and the achievement of basic needs in education. In this context environmental education as a lifelong process should be available to all and should be provided at all educational levels both in and out of school.

In following the recommendations of the Intergovernmental Environment Education Conference held in Tbilisi (USSR) in 1977[4], the Presidential Commission of Education made environmental education one of the principle aims and objectives of the general education system in 1982 stating that education must enable Tanzanians to:

- understand and make the best use of the environment and the country's natural resources without destroying them, in the struggle for survival and development for the benefit of all,

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4 Recommendations of the Intergovernmental Conference on Environmental Education. In: Environmental education in the Light of the Tbilisi Conference. Paris: Unesco 1980, pp. 69-100.

- conserve and protect the countries natural heritage for the benefit of future generations.

The National Training Workshop in Environmental Education in Tanzania, organised by the Department of Teacher Education of the Ministry of Education of Tanzania in co-operation with the Unesco-UNEP International Environmental Education Programme (IEEP) increased awareness and knowledge about the environment and established strategies for the incorporation of environmental education into the curricula of formal, non-formal and teacher education[5].

During the Five Year National Development Plan 1987-1991 Tanzania has also embarked on a comprehensive programme of child survival and development. The programme activities are directed at reducing child deaths. The activities include food production, school feeding, health education and sanitation.

The Election Manifesto of 1990 also reiterated the importance of tackling environmental problems and in particular of environmental education in Tanzania.

4.2 Formal education

Courses in the formal sector are not offered as environmental education as such, but as an integral part of subjects like science, biology, physics, chemistry, home economics, agriculture and geography.

In the primary school, subjects such as science, geography, home economics and agriculture contain some contents relevant to environmental education. But the organisation of the contents, teaching and learning materials and methodology is still weak. Geography syllabi are designed for grades 3 to 7. Topics include vegetation, weather, climate, soil, agriculture, livestock keeping, minerals, fishing, settlements, industry and population. It is difficult to rationalise the choice of topics such as vegetation, minerals settlements and industry at the introduction of geography in

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5 **National Training Workshop in Environmental Education in Tanzania. Organised by the Department of Teacher Education of the Ministry of Education of Tanzania in Co-operation with Unesco-UNEP International Environmental Education Programme (IEEP). Final Report. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education 1986.**

grade 3. Similarly, there is no clearly formulated step by step arrangement or coherent linkage between the various topics. The four textbooks of geography are not in a logical order.

After having analysed the major environmental problems, a second phase of an environmental education study funded by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) started in July 1990. Involved are the Ministry of Education (Teacher Training Department), the Institute of Curriculum Development, the National Environment Management Council and one educationalist. This "Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices Study (KAP)" carried out by a team of teacher trainers, revealed the following preliminary results:

Accessibility: Most of the pupils have heard about environmental education messages as indicated by 93% of the pupils and the most popular media is the radio as revealed by 70% of the pupils. Schools and pamphlets have been indicated as other media.

Knowledge: The knowledge of the pupils as regard environmental education is very low. This ist supported by only 14% of the pupils who at least know some of the components of the environment. The teachers' knowledge is also questionable. The community leaders feel that the level of environmental education in their community is very low.

Attitudes: 84% of the pupils feel that it is important to preserve the environment and are willing to engage in respective activities. 68% suggest severe punishment to anybody who is found destroying the environment.

Practices: Pupils' preservation activities are mainly tree planting (41%), making terraces (16%) and growing grass (3%).

Within this project there are more phases provided for such as writers' workshops to compile the found data and prepare appropriate teaching materials, training of teacher trainers and implementation in primary schools. There are intentions of expanding this approach to secondary education

The Unesco-Project (URT/87/PO4) "Introduction of Population/Family Life Education into the Curricula of Schools and Teachers' Training Colleges" has resulted in some experimental curricula which are to be tested in three regions in primary schools, secondary schools and Teachers' Training Colleges. Several Directorates at the Ministry of Edu-

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cation (Primary Education, Secondary Education, Teacher Education, Inspection and Planning) and three curriculum experts from the Institute of Curriculum Development are involved. Before the project is handed over to the Institute of Curriculum Development an evaluation is needed. The expected outcomes of the project are not new subjects but enrichment of the present curricula by incorporating family life education in primary schools (geography, home economics, science, political education), secondary schools (biology, geography, home economics, political education) and teacher training (biology, geography, political education).

One part of this project is also geared towards the education of the masses on important issues related to general life in villages. Materials developed by a task force are to be used by Radio Tanzania.

In secondary education the teaching of biology is related to agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery, natural conservation, nutrition, ecology and the interaction of man and his environment. One of the objectives of the most recent biology syllabi for secondary schools forms 1 to 4, prepared by the Institute of Curriculum Development and issued by the Ministry of Education in 1989, is to enable the student to understand the principles, concepts and use the knowledge and skills aquired in their everyday life in their community so that they can best utilise their natural heritage (natural resources) to raise their standards of life and free themselves from ignorance, poverty and diseases.

Whith the exception of grades V and VI the geography syllabi leave much to be desired as environmental education is concerned.

The analysis of the science syllabi and particularly the biology syllabi show, that the teaching strategies suggested in teaching the topics related to the environment is mainly discussion. The latest development in the tertiary sector is the drafting of a Master of Science Programme in Environmental Sciences by the Faculty of Science of the University of Dar es Salaam. The course, which was supposed to start in October 1991 with an intake of 10 students every second year, has the following objectives:

- to train BSc holders from various disciplines in environmental science. After graduation they should be able to identify the extent and source of environmental pollution (monitoring) and will have a good background in environmental protection ...

- besides a fixed number of compulsory courses, the programme will provide a number of optional courses to enable students to specialise in certain areas ...
- the programme will put special emphasis on areas in environmental sciences which are related to the specific situation in Eastern Africa and in Tanzania in particular (e.g. mining industry, marine pollution and resource utilisation, development and pollution).

4.3 Non-formal education

The objectives of non-formal environmental education in Tanzania are to help the people to do away with old life styles which hindered the development process and to cultivate an awareness in the elite, that they have the important role and responsibility to develop the nation in consonance with their academic and professional abilities.

Many non-formal programmes related to environmental education have been initiated in Tanzania. Whether adult education takes place in classroom setting or elsewhere in more informal situations, the stress is teaching through the solution of problems which the farmers or workers actually recognise themselves. In order to implement some of the objectives, an afforestation campaign was initiated. Through such a campaign, villagers were taught on the need for environmental conservation, methods of conserving the environment and how to maintain it. Books, charts, posters, films, discussion groups and field demonstrations were also used. Some of the conservation projects in the central region of Dodoma are still continuing. There are efforts to integrate such activities into the regional development programmes so as to avoid a relapse into environmental malpractice.

Swedish and Norwegian development agencies have assisted in preparing and carrying out a number of workshops, seminars and short courses for various target groups on environmental education programmes. Under these programmes the production of brochures, pamphlets and charts related to cultivation and pollution was also implemented.

The Curriculum Development and Material Production Unit of the Department of Adult Education has developed two primers on health and child care which are used in literacy programmes. Post-literacy curricula contain health and nutrition. The latest curriculum developed for the new post-literacy programmes at lower, intermediate and higher level have

three subject biases: agriculture and animal husbandry, crafts, home economics and health. Textbooks and supplementary readers for the lower level have been produced through the assistance of SIDA.

The Folk Development Colleges (FDC's) have recently started to introduce environmental education aspects by incorporating tree planting, prevention of soil erosion, air pollution, etc. At present there is no environmental education in Post-Primary Technical Centres (PPTC's). With the introduction of agriculture there could be a turning point.

Vocational Training Centres started in Arusha and Morogoro have included agromechnics which includes elements of environmental education.

The National Environment Management Council has established an education division which can supply information on environmental problems for education purposes. Currently this division is starting to collaborate with Radio Tanzania in designing and broadcasting desertification related programmes.

The Tanzanian press is also involved in non-formal environmental education activities. A study reveals, that from January to October 1990 the Daily News (and Sunday News) carried 190 environment articles, but half of them being international oriented. The papers Uhuru and Mzalendo carried less than 20% compared to English papers.

There are about 20 non-governmental organisations like the Tanzanian Environment Society (which has 20 branches in the country), Malihai Club Arusha, Morogoro Women Focus and Afforestation Project and Marine Reserves of Tanzania which involve themselves in seminars, workshops and projects related to environmental questions.

5. Prospects and recommendations regarding environmental education

The Tanzanian authorities have recognised the critical impact of environmental problems and the key role of education and training in this field. The Tanzanian National Environment Management Council is now preparing a National Conservation Stragey which will become a national environment policy governing all environmental actions. The need ist felt for a "National Strategy for Environmental Education and Training for the 1990s" to be developed upon the basis of the national environmental

policy mentioned above and upon the "International Strategy" adopted by the Moscow Environmental Education Congress of 1987. This strategy could step up the already taken measures regarding the introduction of environmental education into the national educational process at all levels and in all forms (formal and non-formal) thus strengthening Human Development Resources strategies.

Several initial actions are needed:

1. Formulation of the national strategy on environmental education based upon the national environmental policy, the aims of the education system formulated under the Arusha Declaration, the educational policy for self-reliance and the recommendations of the Presidential Commission of Education in 1982.
2. Preparation of short- and long-term plans for realising the environmental education strategy.
3. Formulation of specific programmes for implementing the environment education strategy.
4. Working out implementation strategies and tactics for putting the various environmental education programmes into operation.
5. Creation of the necessary organisational structures using the existing ones to the highest possible extent.
6. Development of a Management Information System to ensure effective implementation, evaluation and improvement of the environmental education strategy and programmes.

Developing such a strategy in the Tanzanian context does not mean starting from scratch. The already gained experiences, for example in the Unesco project "Introduction of Population/Family Life Education into the Curricula of Schools and Teacher Training Colleges" and the SIDA-assisted project "Environmental Education in Primary Schools" have to be considered, ensuring at the same time a closer collaboration of the participating teams. It is recommended that a working group (committee) be set up with experts from institutions and ministries which carry out activities with direct bearing on environment, e. g. Ministries of Education and Culture; Science, Technology and Higher Education; Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children; Natural Resources and Environment; Agriculture and Livestock Development, Local Government; Industries; Planning; Finance; NGO's,; ACCESS (Non-Formal Education Council, if one is established). This environmental committee could take decisions on setting up working groups dealing with education materials (formal and non-formal), school environmental education programmes,

non-formal environmental education programmes, research, library and documentation.

After having developed the national strategy on environmental education, the formal education sector could be evaluated, giving due attention to the presently carried out Unesco and SIDA projects mentioned above.

In the non-formal sector of education a more systematic infusion of environmental education should be possible through this environmental strategy and the co-ordinating influence of the yet to be created Action Council for Coordinated Non-formal Education and Self-reliance Skills (ACESS). Introduction of environmental education programmes should start or be reinforced in FDCs, PPTC's, TRDC's, TRDC's (Training for Rural Development Centres), the Sokoine University of Agriculture and other institutions, and should stress both the identification of environmental problems and the finding of possible solutions of nature preservation. The National Environmental Management Council and the post-literacy programmes of the Ministry of Education and Culture and various other institutions could also contribute to bringing the programmes of different areas closer together.

Finally, the following kinds of environmental education programmes are recommended:

"Grassroots Mass Sensitization and Awareness Programme" comprising

- research/surveys at grassroots of problem areas, people's priorities and needs, appropriate methods (expanding already existing small-scale research),
- training of environmental educators at regional level (starting with a pilot project),
- engaging environmental educators in disseminating environmental education to people.

"*Social Activities of Women*"

Environmental education of women should be given impetus. While the Women's Section of the Institute of Adult Education is at present conducting a study on the role of women in the conservation of nature, the Union of Tanzanian Women (UWT) is attempting to increase the social

activity of women, including access to vocational courses. There also seems to be an opportunity to infuse environmental issues into a project on women's development and income generation related to the Folk Development Colleges.

"*Introduction of Mobile Units*"

Using Land Rovers and cinema vans as a kind of alternative to workshops for film shows, demonstration projects and audio-visual materials related to the environment. This should be co-ordinated with the anticipated film education effort of the post-literacy programme and film programmes of the various Ministries (including the agricultural extension programmes of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development).

"*Increased Role of Radio and Press*"

The role of radio and the press in making people aware of environmental problems and in empowering them with knowledge, skills and attitudes of understanding and overcoming these problems should be intensified. Target groups are farmers, pastoralists, agropastoralists, women, especially in rural areas, pupils and children, youth, planners, administrators and extension officers, teachers and their trainers. Radio plays with a dash of scientific information, stories, poetry and songs could play an important role. Radio programmes should carry at least 15 minutes of environmental news once a week including offering help. The Swahili newspapers, in particular, should come up with more articles and news on environmental issues.

"*Environmental Education Camps*"

A kind of summer school science/environmental education camp for pupils and teachers could be introduced in co-operation with the University of Dar es Salaam and Sokoine University of Agriculture. This could also include study visits (excursions) to raise interest in environmental problems and in finding possible solutions.

In the light of the Rio Conference it is to be hoped that the creation of a United Nations Sustainable Development Commission, modeled on the Human Rights Commission, will hold governments to account for achieving such programmes.

UNESCO and other UN bodies seem to be ready to do a better job of integrating environment and development (and specifically environmental education) in its investments.

Botho von Kopp

The Japanese University in a Changing Context: More Market or More Regulation?

Summary:

Higher education systems in nearly all highly industrialised countries are presently exposed to financial problems. Under the pressure of economical recession but also in accordance with currently dominant market ideology, governments adopt an explicit or implicit retrenchment policy towards the higher education sector. Institutions of higher learning are expected to open themselves (even more – or in some countries for the first time) to the market in order to improve the efficiency of the whole system and of the single institutions. According to their "market-position" the single schools can gain additional funding and thus improve their financial situation. In Japan where 75% of the higher education sector is private and market strategies always played a certain role, the new politics come under the label of "deregulation". This policy stands in the context of changed requirements on higher education and, in addition, a particular demographic situation.

Die japanische Universität in einem veränderten Umfeld: mehr Markt oder mehr staatliche Kontrolle

Zusammenfassung:

Die Hochschulsysteme nahezu aller Industriestaaten sehen sich gegenwärtig besonderen finanziellen Problemen gegenüber. Angesichts wirtschaftlicher Rezession, aber auch in Übereinstimmung mit der gegenwärtig dominierenden Marktideologie sind die Regierungen zu expliziter oder impliziter Sparpolitik gegenüber dem Hochschulsektor übergegangen. Erwartet wird, daß die Hochschulen sich (noch mehr, bzw. in manchen Ländern: überhaupt) dem Marktgeschehen öffnen. Dies soll die Effizienz des gesamten Systems ebenso wie die der einzelnen Institutionen erhöhen und ihnen, abhängig von ihrer Qualität, zusätzliche, notwendige Mittel sichern. In Japan, wo, mit einem Anteil des privaten Hochschulsektors von insgesamt 76%, Marktstrategien schon immer eine Rolle gespielt haben, versteht sich diese Politik als "Dereglementierung". Sie steht im Zusammenhang gewandelter Forderungen an die Hochschulen und fällt zudem mit einer spezifischen demographischen Situation zusammen.

1. Preliminary remarks

The following paper is mainly based on a project which I conducted in Japan between September and November 1991 as a guest of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and of Takekazu Ehara at Kyoto University[1]. During my stay in Japan I conducted intensive interviews at 15 universities and three research institutes, prepared a questionnaire, and sent it to 169 professors, assistant professors and lecturers at various universities. The basic design of the survey was determined by my interest in the attitudes of university teachers (professors, assistant professors, and lecturers) towards their material and non-material working conditions, and in their views on some acute problems and strategies in the face of present changes. Despite a high return rate of 64 per cent, the figure is, of course, too small to be a representative survey in a strict sense, and it was not designed to be. However, I included in my survey various departments ranging from literature to technology (but excluding medical schools) and higher education institutions of different types, metropolitan and local, private, national and other public ones, as well as colleges (tanki daigaku). A larger part of the questionnaires (28%) was distributed inside Kyoto University; so this type of a prestigious national university is somewhat overrepresented, on the other hand, it thus was possible to contrast this type with the higher education sector as a whole. The following paper is based both on the interviews and on the survey. The quoted views from university teachers are taken from my survey.

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1 I take here the opportunity to thank especially Mr. Takekazu Ehara, because without his competence, understanding and help this project could never have been realised, but also all those who kindly devoted their time for my interviews and answering the questionnaire and, last but not least, Mr. Atsuo Fujimto who translated my draft questionnaire into Japanese. As for the general preconditions of the questionnaire, I got some inspiration from a project which was initially undertaken by Manuel Crespo at Montreal university. He scrutinised the effects of austerity policy on Canada's universities in the early eighties and became interested in comparing this question in some more countries. He initiated a follow-up research in which a survey was undertaken in France and in Germany. For the German part my colleague from Deutsches Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung (DIPF), Manfred Weiß and I agreed on the part of adapting the questionnaire for Germany and co-ordinating the survey there. It should be mentioned that both my Japanese project and the Canadian-French-German project are not yet fully evaluated and respective papers are planed to be published later.

2. Factors and problems of change: demographics, money, prestige and competition

The context of higher education in Japan is undergoing some important changes. As a tendency the character of these changes – fluctuating figures of the respective population, retrenchment policies towards the university in a context of economic problems and the general problems of the mass university – is not confined to Japan but part of global trends. The specific structure and functions of the Japanese higher educational system certainly bring about a special blend of challenges and responses in this country. On the other hand, Japan's higher education always has had a very strong market character. Most of its quantitative expansion was achieved by private universities and, in total, compared with any other highly industrialised country a greater part of educational costs were paid by the students themselves: the share of student's fees as a proportion of the total expenditure in higher education comes up to 34 % as compared to 22% in the US. (JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, p. 70). Since new aspects add to this character of a highly "marketised" education system and since market philosophy nowadays achieves great triumph globally, Japan's higher education experiences could serve if not as a model, then as a case in point.

Japanese *educational policy* aims at some fundamental reforms in higher education in order to make it more flexible and adaptable in the face of new challenges on the one hand and to correct some major problems on the other hand. As for the new challenges, various global changes as well as changes inside Japanese society are usually quoted: the process of internationalisation, the aging of the population, the diversification of life styles, and the dissemination of information technology. As for the problems, the "examination hell", the concentration of educational facilities in the metropolitan areas, the low level of educational quality in parts of the system, the low level of specialisation due to a protracted period of initial two-year "general studies" in which, as the criticism goes, only the contents and methods of high-school studies are repeated, and lastly, the very small number of graduate students are reasons for concern. The variety of problems is great and so is the variety of motives and strategies for reform. Some, like "internationalisation", in terms of the rapidly growing number of foreign students in Japan, are consequences of a changed policy, some, however, like the "examination hell", are deeply rooted in a blend of traditional and modern structures of society. It is also said that the impulse for many aspects of reform had its origins in industry, which was and still is not content with the level of knowledge, flexibility and crea-

tivity needed in modern "post-industrial" society. I shall, however, refrain from trying to list all the individual problems (and the corresponding reform strategies) and rather turn attention only to some of them and to their relation with the "education market".

Table 1a: Numbers and proportions of undergraduate students in national, local (prefectural) and private universities

year	national univers.	local univers.	priv. univ.	total
1955	186.055	24.936	312.364	523.355
	35,5%	4,8%	59,7%	
1975	357.772	50.880	1.325.430	1.734.082
	21,7%	2,9%	76,4%	
1990	504.890	61.264	1.500.808	2.133.362
	24,4%	2,9%	72,6%	

Table 1b: Numbers and proportions of students in national, local (prefectural) and private junior colleges

year	national jun. college	local jun. college	private jun. college	total
1955	3. 637	11.080	63.168	77.885
	4,7%	14,2%	81,1%	
1975	13.143	17.973	322.666	353.782
	3,7%	5,1%	91,2%	
1990	18.510	22.647	438.232	479.389
	3,8%	4,7%	91,4%	

Table 1c: Numbers and proportions of postgraduate students

year	national univers.	local univers.	private univ.	total	women
1955	5.022	409	4.743	10.174	593
	49,4%	4,0%	46,6%	100%	5,8%
1975	27.735	2.323	18.406	48.464	4.547
	57,2%	4,8%	38,0%	100%	9,4%
1990	54.425	3.640	27.198	85.263	13.076
	63,8%	4,3%	31,9%	100%	15,3%

Source: Monbu sokeiyoran, heisei, 3 nen, Tokyo, 1991, pp.76-77

The coming changes will be determined to a degree by the population factor: statistics show that from 1993 on the number of the 18 year olds in the population will decrease steadily and quite dramatically: from 2.050.000 in 1992 to 1.250.000 in 2007. True, there was already a temporary decrease in the population before: from a peak of 1966 with 2.495.000, a low of 1.540.000 was reached in 1976 (NIKKEI, p. 6-7). One difference now is that the peak as well as the trough are lower. The other difference is to be found in the fact, that the first decrease coincided with – and supported – the phase of the strongest expansion of the Japanese higher education system: during those years the rate of the corresponding age group advancing to higher education grew from 16% to 38% (OUTLINE 1989, p. 19).

Table 2: The 18-year-old population (in millions)

year	1966	1976	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2007
pop.	2,49	1,54	2,05	1,86	1,72	1,61	1,51	1,48	1,39	1,30	1,25

Source: Nikkei Entertainment. 1990, 12.5. p. 7

From the faculty members I surveyed, only 6,6% believed that population decrease would not at all, 31% that it would rather not have an impact on their university. The majority of 60%, however, thought it would

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have consequences.[2] Clearly, since the Japanese higher education system in some respects is very heterogeneous, the situation is not interpreted unanimously. On the other hand, as for some consequences, the questioned gave quite uniform answers: 94,3% (from those 59% strongly) believed that competition among students for admission, even now traditionally described as "examination hell", will be still keener – but also will be the competition among universities in order to attract students (as believe 90,5%). At the same time a majority (89,5%), expects massification of higher education to continue also in future. Why then, one might ask, concern about still more competition?

First of all, the higher education system is *highly competitive* in general. The outcome of competition is a pyramid-like system with some excellent institutions on the top and a broad bottom filled with institutions of low standard and reputation, some of them "universities" only by name. In between one could discriminate upper and lower levels of more or less reputed institutions. The respective place in this ranking[3] goes back to various factors, like: a strong tradition of vertical structuring in Japanese society in general, different genesis and academic traditions, the selectivity of entrance examinations, the employment chances for the graduates, the fact, that only 54% of all universities have graduate schools and thus offer an academic training leading to master and/or doctor degrees, and others.

In my survey, I asked for a self-evaluation of the own institution in respect to research and teaching based on the personal judgement. 36,2% assessed their own institution as being "superior" respectively 24,8% "above average" in research (29,5 % and 24,8% in teaching), 19% see an average position (22,8% in teaching). For 8,6% their own institution is "below average" in research (11,4% in teaching) and for 2,8% it is "inferior" (3,6% respectively). As a tendency, the position in research is ranked higher than that in teaching. This is especially evident in the case of prestigious Kyoto University which 84% hold to be "superior" in research (12% above average), but only 68% "superior" in education (and 8% each say it is "above average", respectively "below average" and one

2 The percentages given always refer to the number of all returned questionnaires. If the percentage in a given question is lower than 100 % then the difference is due to those who did not answer this particular question; they are interpreted as "undecided/no answer".

3 W. Flüchter in his study on higher education under regional aspects gives a tentative list of criteria and groupings (FLÜCHTER, Tab. 16)

person even says it is "inferior"). As for their working conditions, only 3,8% felt that the inferior position in the ranking had a very negative influence, still 16% felt some rather negative influence.

Table 3: Survey: How do professors evaluate their own institution (% of questioned)

a) Quality of research:

type of university	superior	above average	average	below average	inferior
public	43,1	16,2	4,8	0,9	–
private	1,9	8,6	15,2	8,6	2,9
Kyoto*	84	12	–	–	–
total	41,7	25,2	20,4	9,7	2,9

b) Quality of teaching

type of university	superior	above average	average	below average	inferior
public	31,4	18,1	7,7	2,9	0,9
private	1,9	8,6	15,2	8,6	2,9
Kyoto*	68,0	1,9	1,9	1,9	0,9
total	35,0	26,7	22,9	11,4	3,8

*All Kyoto professors = 100%

During the last decade a quite interesting shift in the hierarchy of universities has taken place. Traditionally, at the top of the pyramid the top national and some private universities can be found. This stratum remained more or less unchanged and is not expected to change much in the near future. On the next level, the rest of the upper quarter of the pyramid, the other national and public universities held a dominant position. The next quarter is still good average or better. Not many changes are to be expected in the lower half and especially not at the bottom of the system. It is the second and the third stratum which moved: as a tendency, the public universities from the second stratum are on their way down to the third one and the private institutions from the third level are gaining

ground and gradually moving to the second one. This is due both to changes in the examination system, and also to the fact that the costs for studies, in former times definitely cheaper in public universities, came closer to those in private ones. Last but not least, the priorities and the life style of youth has changed over the years and students are not longer willing to accept the often poor buildings and equipment conditions of many national universities. The actual place in the ranking depends on a combination of several factors, the most sensitive, at least in a short-time perspective, are the "deviation factor" (hensachi) a complicated computing of entrance exam results in relation to a mean value and secondly the "competing ranking" (kyosoritsu), the relationship between the numbers of students taking part in the examination and those who passed them. This ranking, however, is not official and the modes of assessment are less unified than in the (very roughly) comparable American Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). Nevertheless, corresponding lists of ranking, not only of universities but of all respective departments and courses of study are published each year in an uncountable number of handbooks and other publications. Generally the most important and most used are released by big prep-school companies.

The placement in *hierarchy* has not only to do with "prestige" as such, but is part of the struggle for position and survival in the educational market system. It has also to do more or less directly with the finances and other formal and informal support the respective university can count on. Although officially the principles of *financing* are uniform for the sector of national universities, an actual preference for the former "imperial" universities, with Tokyo and Kyoto universities at the top, can be observed traditionally: an analysis from 1975 showed that both institutions together had 8,6% of the ("national") students enrolled but received 14,9% of the total expenditure, all 7 former "imperial" universities with a share of 24% of the students received 35,7% of the expenditure. A second group of 11 older (and thus quite prestigious) national colleges and universities with 20,9% of the students still received 23,7% of the expenditure. The "bottom" of 64 new institutions with 55,5% of the students held a 40,6% share on the expenditure (ICHIKAWA, p. 44).

The *private sector* however – it comprises 73% of all universities and 83% of all junior colleges – is much more differentiated than the public one, both in terms of prestige and of financial situation. Since private institutions are only to a minor part supported by the state, they heaviliy depend on student fees in 1988 which came up to 50% of the total income of private universities (56% in the case of the colleges). Next important

were miscellaneous charges: 29,5% (for instance for the use of school equipment). Income from the use of properties contributed with 5,1% and donations with 3,5%. The government subsidies came up to 11,3%. They are divided into regular and "special subsidies". The latter are used to stimulate certain educational policy priorities, be it in respect to special research or such issues like "decentralisation", which means to transfer campuses into the province, accepting foreign students, special programs for returnees to Japan, etc. The proportion of "special subsidies" to total subsidies grew from 10% in 1982 to 26,2% in 1990. Apart from the mentioned sources, private institutions can (or often have to) take government loans and some universities are confronted with the problem of an accumulated deficit: in 1988 the sum of all long term loans was more than double that of the current state subsidies at the same year (JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, p. 112-114).

Quite an important part of the income through fees is not only through the regular student fees but also the fees for participating in the entrance examination. New enrolment is limited by a number provisionally fixed each year by the ministry (*tei-in*). In the case of public universities it must not be transgressed at all, in the case of private institutions the actual intake should not exceed the fixed number by more than 20%, but up to 50% were tolerated by the Monbusho (The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture) in the past decades with strong 18 years old cohorts pressing to enter higher education.

Despite this quantitative limitation of actual enrolment, normally all universities can, especially in times of quantitative growth, count on a good additional income through the large number of participants in the entrance examination. Prestigious institutions might have as much as ten times more examinees than they actually will enrol. For instance, prestigious Waseda University, one of the biggest institutions in the country, had a fixed *tei-in* of 7.440 new enrolments in 1990, however, 146.375 competed for admission and participated in the entrance examination and only 15.639 of them passed the exams. Since the fee for sitting the exams is mostly between 25.000 and 30.000 Yen (about US $200 – 250), universities and colleges depend among others heavily on a sufficient pool of potential examinees. Clearly, there is reason for concern from the side of many universities in face of a decreasing population of 18-year olds.

Still, if other sources stagnate or even decrease, the regular student fees can be lifted. However, there is a limitation in the social structure itself since only a limited number of parents can afford to pay the high and fast

growing fees of some universities. For instance, in some private medical schools the regular student fees rose to as much as 3.500.000 Yen (28.000 US Dollars) In addition, a fee for the use of equipment must be paid (usually another 12.000 Dollars) and, as in all other universities, an entrance fee (about 10.000 Dollars) has to be paid, in some cases additional donations are expected. True, the examples of medicine and dentistry are extreme, but the average stands presently at about 8.000 Dollars in the "cheap" humanities and at about 10.000 Dollars in sciences. (all figures from KEISETSU 1991, p.755-769).

In the beginning I quoted the concern that although further massification of higher education is expected, competition both among students and institutions might increase in the future. Seen in the light of factors I mentioned here, it might be clear that the problem will not only be the declining figure of the 18-year olds, as such, because universities could still have a much larger intake than they actually have. But there is already – and will be – a fierce fight for the "good students". Good students in this context means certainly bright, gifted and diligent students, but also, equally important, with enough money to pay for the ever rising costs of education.

In my survey only 3 persons believed definitely *that retrenchment* policy was not a problem for their university (from those 2 from privileged Kyoto University), 8 persons believed it was rather not, but the rest, 84,7% – and among those also the majority from the privileged universities and colleges – saw it as a problem. All things considered, 74% believed that the financial situation of their university was worse than 10 years ago and nearly all of them believe that this is the result of retrenchment policy. This corresponds strongly with the development of actual financing during the last years, although retrenchment is felt differently if it comes to the level of the single persons or departments: in 31,4% of the cases the respondents even claimed that the material conditions of the workplace had improved somewhat (very much 5%), 25,7% felt no change and 31% saw them deteriorated and ascribed this to retrenchment measures against their departments. This seems to have influenced less the quantity, somewhat more the quality of teaching (52,9% respectively 61,8% saw this influence), but above all the amount and quality of research: 94,1% and 82,4% saw this influence). A majority of 54% had received in the last academic year some additional research money from outside their university, most of it came from public sources, but only in 30% of the cases it came up to more than 50% of their regular research funds.

Table 4: Survey: received external research money, by position and type of institution

funding source/ conditions	professors	assistant profs.	lecturers	members of public univ.	members of private univ.
a) received funds, % of total sample	30,5	23,8	5,7	44,8	16,2
% of a) private sources	12,5	0	0	6,4	5,9
% of a) public sources	50,0	72	83,3	61,7	64,8
% of a) comb. private/public sources	37,5	28	16,7	31,9	29,4
% of a) individually	28,1	12	0	21,3	11,8
% of a) in team	43,7	60	50	48,9	58,8
% of a) comb. indiv./team	28,1	28	50	29,8	29,4

As far as the overall figures for the private sector are concerned, there the share of government subsidies as a percentage of the total income of the institutions declined steadily during the past years: between 1984 and 1988 from 13,4% to 11,3% (JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, p.112). Even public universities are not without severe financial problems. Expenditure on public higher education in 1986 and as a percentage of National Income amounted to 0,7% (an additional 0,1% was for subsidies into private institutions) thus being somewhat lower than in France (0,9%), and remarkably lower than in other countries (Table 5):

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Table 5: Sources of higher education expenditures (percentage)

sources	Japan	U.S.	U.K.	France	West Germany
student fees	34	22	–	–	–
national	41	–	43	90	–
federal	–	13	–	–	10
state/land	–	30	–	–	90
local	6	3	57	2	–
others	6	32	–	8	–
public exp.as % of national income	0,8	1,5	1,6	0,9	1,8

Source: JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, pp. 69-70

True, the total amount of subsidies for national universities grew at a rate of somewhat over 30% between 1980 and 1988 – but so did the numbers of students (plus 24%) and inflation. Besides, in 1988, for the first time, the total amount of expenditure for national universities was lower than in the year before (STATISTICAL ABSTRACT, 1990, p. 136-137). Thus, in reality the situation might be properly described as stagnation – a best. The breakdown of the total sum shows that in many respects the situation worsened (building expenditures for example decreased for a lack of money during the seventies in national universities) and an Education Ministry's report comes to the conclusion that "the level of the provision of research facilities and equipment is very often inferior to that for research institutes in the private sector" (JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, p. 134).

3. Reforms: "Deregulation", improved quality, and a new structure of higher education

The essence of the present reform initiative, launched by the ministry respectively an advisory council, is to give the universities considerably more freedom. Until now existed detailed prescriptions on all possible aspects of academic life: not only on how many credits at which time and with how many students per class had to be taken, but even the time of day when classes should be held; in addition there were detailed regula-

tions concerning the space of buildings and campuses and so on. Now the decisions on the organisation of curricula and academic life as a whole will be much more left to the universities themselves. This could mean a great change especially for the two-year "general studies" which comprise 36 credits (nearly one third of the regular four year study course in most subjects) and so far are compulsory for all students. They include humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, languages, and sports. Under the new regulations universities will be free to decide if they want to organise general studies at all, what to include and how to organise the studies.

True, the shift in favour of deregulation in a country often criticised for its bureaucratic and centralised administration and decision making sounds good. Interestingly enough, the first reactions of most universities were not too enthusiastic. One reason among others – and perhaps the main one – might be that there is something like a "mutual suspicion" between government and academic institutions (NANA MIZUSHIMA-REGUR, p. 31). In fact, in 1991 started a phase of intensive, sometimes hectic consultations in most institutions, what might be the expectations of the ministry, if deregulation meant really more freedom or another, more sophisticated modus of control, and what would be the appropriate way to cope with the situation. True, there is more freedom for innovations, but the wrong innovations might have adverse effects, that is, weaken the position of the single institution in the education market: in principle the government aims at restructuring the whole system and among others at putting the existing – unofficial – ranking on more consistent premises:

The very strict ranking, watched over each year by flocks of analysts, computed in most sophisticated ways, and printed in whole shelves of corresponding books, is based on several factors which are not really standardised, even officially ignored, and, what is worse, are so much based on learning knowledge that they are good indicators for how much time and hard study a student is able to invest, but the exams do not say much about if he/she or the university he/she entered are academically effective. Thus, the reform policy seems to administer a clear division between different levels of higher education institutions, diversified in function, structure, and equipment. Differences between them should be in the emphasis on special core-research programs or the promotion of academic new recruits or between "normal" universities with a emphasis on the linkage between research and teaching on the one hand and colleges – starting with a kind of "community colleges" – on different levels and specialisations and a stress on the teaching function on the other hand. As

a part of the reform, universities also are encouraged to evaluate themselves, their reform measures, their quality of research and education as confronted with their own expectations and the quality of the other institutions in order to make clear which place in the new order they want to take.

Evidently, in this new system a number of institutions would be no longer part of the prestigious "university" system. But also the institutions which will not be endangered in that way (or even in their existence), will have to find their place in this system, and universities which were used to be top by a kind of customary law will have to make new efforts in order to keep that place. In the spring of 1992, for instance, the Prime Minister suggested that recruitment of Tokyo University graduates for top government service should be reduced. Future will show if this initiative will be effective. Presently, Tokyo University graduates come up to as much as 90% of all new employed each year in some ministries and up to roughly 50% of all new employed in all ministries together.

The government policy has gone quite far already in its differentiation policy. As was mentioned already: the proportions of "special subsidies", that is, subsidies earmarked for special purposes, increased considerably during the last 10 years – but at the same time the proportion of regular financing decreased. In addition, universities and colleges are encouraged to search for financing on the "market", that is they are encouraged to seek the co-operation with industry. Between 1983 and 1990 the number of university researchers in joint research projects grew from 66 to 1.031, the corresponding total expenditures from 700 million Yen to 3.8 billion Yen. Correspondingly, the figure of contract researchers increased and the amount of grants and endowments nearly tripled[4].

In my survey, 55% of those who in the last academic year had some extra-university research money, had been granted this money from public sources. Asked which source was the most important in general (multiple answers possible), public sources were mentioned 112 times, private ones 30 times and international agencies 6 times. Clearly, there are departments which can profit much (science and technology) and others only very poorly. Apart from this, there is criticism about the planed division between teaching and research and too strong ties between industry and

4 Information of the latest available figures by courtesy of Mrs. Sanae Aoki, International Affairs Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Tokyo.

university with the danger of universities to become too dependent on industry.

As far as the new freedom of curricula construction is concerned, one can expect definite changes. They will – especially for the public institutions, because many private ones adopted such a strategy since long – bring a greater emphasis on specialised subject studies already in the first and second years, and in fact technological colleges already have started to restructure their curricula in this way. However, especially in technological and other specialised colleges and universities there is a certain concern among the teachers of general subjects that their subjects will loose weight or even be dropped. Curricular and structural changes will certainly also affect the postgraduate studies.

The evaluation issue is still completely open. True, a majority in my survey – 56,2% – advocated ("objective") evaluation of teaching and research qualities. They don't expect from this measure that "examination hell" would loose ground (72,9%) and they are not all clearly convinced that budget allocation would be based on more rational grounds (only 15,2% believe so), but they agree fully (54%), respectively more or less (42%), that such a kind of evaluation could well stimulate the endeavour to rise teaching and research qualities. However, it seems paramount to rely on an evaluation system which can be accepted by common consent. There have been so far first examples of self-evaluation respectively evaluation: one is that of Tokyo's university's college of Arts and Letters with the useful but rather innocuous idea of printing a book with personal histories, research activities, educational extracurricular activities, and other informations about all faculty members, and to present this as an example for "self-evaluation". The real market reacted more quickly and more effectively: in October 1991 a private company started to sell videotapes titled: "Fire such college professors" – giving full names in some cases. Produced mainly on the base of interviews with college students, the tapes recommended that professors should be generally fired (or boycotted) if they: "read the same lecture notes every year, are frequently absent from class, never take up new ideas or publish papers, require students to buy boring books they have authored, speak inaudibly, can not answer student's questions" (THE DAILY YOMIURI, Oct. 27, 1991). One of the criticised already practised public self-criticism and Haruo Nishihara, former president of prestigious Waseda university confessed: "Japanese colleges and professors have gotten off too easily for too long". (ibid.)

4. Conclusions

In Japanese education traditionally has been existing a peculiar blend of government regulation on the one hand and market regulation on the other hand. The state engages itself financially in higher education only to a limited extend – a strategy which stems from the context of Japanese modernisation. As soon as private universities became officially authorised (1918), they served as regulators for the growing demand for higher education. Already in 1923 their enrolment outnumbered that of the public universities by far. They, however, served also to a degree as innovators and sometimes offered courses of studies not covered by the public sector. On the other hand government control in matters of organisation and content of academic life was traditionally strong, both over the public and the private sectors.

The new "deregulation" is ambiguous: on the one hand it weakens government control, on the other hand, more market does not automatically and under all circumstances mean less control – especially not if it goes together with retrenchment, because the control of finances is the most powerful control in economy, and the Japanese educational system is strongly "economised". Its problem probably is not a lack of market elements but an overdose of market. Competition and competitiveness, typical market characteristics, certainly is not the problem in itself and in order to develop and to keep academic standards academic competition is paramount. But in the Japanese educational system competition is based predominantly on an assessment system which has nothing or very few to do with educational qualities but much with economics, both in a very direct sense that the decision for a certain university means an extremely relevant economic decision for all concerned, and also in the sense that the principle underlying the decision is dominated by the rules of the economic, not the educational value system. But this is the unique Japanese feature of the general problem: a massification of university which did not, and, given the circumstances (and means), perhaps even could not adopt properly to this new development. The problems are huge in all industrialised countries. Clearly, a mass university system cannot keep the fiction of offering top academic standard if one fourth or a third or even more of the corespondent population enrol. Neither does this seem to be achievable, nor is this needed on the labour market, nor does this fit the highly differentiated wishes, interests, the previous experiences and endowments of so large parts of the young population. But the uncertainty is great over what should be the structural and, more important, the qualitative features of the system, which should be the criteria to distinguish between "su-

perior" and "inferior", between "necessary" and "unnecessary" research, and much more difficult: between "good" and "bad" academic teaching and education.

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IV. Laufende Forschungsprojekte/ Research Projects in Progress

Peter Döbrich

School as a Place of Socialisation and Learning – an International Comparison on School Reality: Description of the Project

Summary:

This paper describes the research project "School as a Place of Socialisation and Learning – an International Comparison on School Reality" at the German Institute for International Educational Research. Central dimensions of the project are "time for school", "curricula in school", and "assessment and evaluation in school". They are presented here, and the research procedures are illustrated by the "studies on time". First comparative results of these can be found in the papers of Wolfgang Huck in this volume.

Erziehungsraum Schule – Ein internationaler Vergleich zur Schulwirklichkeit: Beschreibung des Projekts

Zusammenfassung:

Dieser Beitrag beschreibt das Forschungsprojekt "Erziehungsraum Schule – ein internationaler Vergleich zur Schulwirklichkeit" des Deutschen Instituts für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung. Die Dimensionen "Zeit für Schule", "Curricula in der Schule" und "Prüfungen und Leistungsmessungen" stehen im Mittelpunkt des Projekts und werden hier dargestellt. Die Forschungsprozeduren werden am Beispiel der "Zeitstudien" dargestellt. Erste vergleichende Ergebnisse der "Zeitstudien" sind in den Beiträgen von Wolfgang Huck in diesem Band enthalten.

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1. Introduction

The research project "School as a Place of Socialisation and Learning – an International Comparison on School Reality" at the German Institute for International Educational Research was started in 1987 within the greater frame of the research area which is dealing with "schools in the process of social change". To gain insight in "school reality" we tried to move away from the path of structural description and analyses. Instead, the attempt was made to get insight into the functioning of various educational systems from the perspective of the student. It is envisaged to finalise this project in 1995. Four main items will be subject of international comparisons:

- time for school,
- curricula in school,
- assessment and evaluation in school, and
- teaching methods/teaching styles in school.

This paper will deal with the first three items and the process of research in this project, which will be illustrated especially by the item "time for school".

2. Time for school

Knowledge on "time for school" in an international comparison seems easily to be acquired. Physical time units like the year, months, weeks, days, hours are common to anybody and there seem to be no difficulties to their application in the educational field. But the European educational systems, having grown over centuries, have build up peculiar habits to use time in their every-day school life. These every-day situations have become the main target of the project. Periods of instruction are lasting 35, 40, 45, 55 or 60 minutes; their duration can even differ between the morning and the afternoon. This makes comparisons difficult and requires a reduction of each system down to comparable units, in this case it is "minutes". Then it is possible to aggregate data to more understandable units like "hours", etc. Besides comparable units it is necessary to have defined categories for the comparison. As there are many differences between the systems, these categories should be drawn from existing similarities and insight into the details of the systems.

Normally, knowledge on "time for school" is not produced in this way. International agencies like EURYDICE, which is the information system on education of the European Community and at the same time background of governmental knowledge in this international field of the 12 member states, normally collect data and information which are compiled to documentation on various issues. To give an example on the length of the school year:

- Denmark and Italy report: 200 days
- Ireland reports: 184 days at primary level
- Germany reports: 75 days of holidays per year.

These reports are correct from the national perspective of each country, but they are not comparable. A lot of additional information is necessary for an international comparison. First of all, comparable definitions of what is needed and in which way various components are to be structured are requested, to receive at least a fair comparison. Thus the task of the project has been to find comparable data, even if they are not of the same empirical standard. The best way would have been to have representative random sampling in all countries involved as a basis of comparison. But this way is very time-consuming, highly expensive and in the case where it is "specific hypothesis testing" there are some doubts, whether or not national peculiarities – which are important for the interpretations of results – can be carefully taken into account. Apart from these problems of representative research it is at least doubtful whether the results will be better in terms of content afterwards.

Being aware of the problems of data from international agencies on one hand and problems of deductive, pure empirical research – which has a value in itself – on the other, we decided to move on with our research in an inductive way for two reasons:

- we did not know what we would discover through our questions on time for school in the various countries; if we had have known we would not have had to do research on it;
- there was only a limited amount of money available for an international comparative study.

In November 1988 we published a series of workshop reports on nine countries. These reports were based on a set of questions and items of interest that should be incorporated and answered in each of the reports, but *not* on defined categories, which are comparable in itself. Comparing

the nine workshop reports we found considerable differences with regard to similar problems. E.g. time for assessment at secondary level in Greece, which is two weeks at the end of the school year, had been extracted from instructional time, whereas time for continuous assessment during the school year in Germany remained within instructional time, as we could not extract it without an in-depth-study on the assessment procedures in Germany to find out the real difference between "instructional time" and "time for assessment". So we left "time for assessment" within "instructional time", to have at least a fair comparison between the countries.

From these nine workshop reports we have drawn the definitions for three categories of time for school:

- Instructional time is defined as: "the time during which instruction is taking place, including assessment and examination time".
- Time in school: "total of time spent in school, including instructional time, changeover time, recreation periods, study and assembly times, that is, the entire period from the official beginning to the end of the school day".
- School-related time: "this includes total time in school, along with time spent on home work assignments/study, travel time to and from school, as well as time devoted to tuition outside of normal school hours either privately organised and paid like "grinds" or publicly organised and financed as additional offers".

According to this definitions the workshop reports have been revised and in some cases amended, as they did not comprise the whole range of the school system from relevant pre-primary schools to the end of upper secondary general education. Meanwhile these nine studies have been published and additional studies have been produced for six other countries. All of them are the background of the comparison on "Time for school". These procedures have also been selected to make the national peculiarities as well as visible as the comparative data and analyses. The procedures and methods of the project can be summed up as four steps:

1. Writing of workshop reports for each country according to a common set of questions of interest and/or some kind of a proposed common structure of the reports. The situation from pre-school activities (if relevant) until the end of upper secondary general education should be described and analysed. Workshop reports will be printed for internal and external communication of the project.

2. Development of more narrow and precise definitions and questions from the workshop reports, aiming at comparable analyses, data and descriptions.
3. Revision and amendment of workshop reports for publication as country reports within a series of the institute.
4. Elaborate an international comparison on each of the four main items of the project.

If there is sufficient capacity, two further dimensions of comparison have been envisaged. One is the national comparison along the four main items together with a historically oriented study on the origins of the phenomena, a second is an international overall comparison on the four items and their impact on "school reality".

3. Curriculum

"Curriculum" is understood as the whole content of the living – and learning – process in instruction, as well as extra-curricular and social activities related to school.

This far-reaching definition shall comprise the whole content of work in school and related to school analogue to the far-reaching definition of "times": "time for instruction", "time in school", and "school-related time". We think there is a huge diversity of correlation between "instruction, leading to success in school", "additional extra-curricular offers by the school itself or in relation with others institutions" and "social life inside school and in connection with the community". It can be assumed that there are different situations, e.g. when the school is intervening in student's life with an enlarged time consumption beyond time for instruction, home work or additional offers determining this "extra" time. Altogether we want to find out "what is the content of time that is spent by students in school and in school related activities?" In a more simplistic sense the workshop reports shall also answer the question: "is school regarded as a place of preparation for life (postponing relevance of school activities for life at a later moment, following the time of schooling) or is school understood as a vital part of student's life, where his/her actual interests of life are taken into account too?"

Of central interest is the question of "relative autonomy of the individual school" in a position between two extremes:

1. Curriculum of the single teacher in terms of methods and content – as one of the extremes.
2. Relative autonomy of the individual school as an entity in terms of methods and content.
3. Curriculum of the state in terms of prescribed and controlled content and methods.

The following questions are also of basic interest:

- how is the content of the curriculum implemented in the individual school?
- what is the role of the individual school in the implementation process of the curriculum?
- what is the role of the teacher in this process?
- what is the basic function of the school:
  a) an essential part of preservation of national identity, or
  b) a relative autonomous section of public service?

In which way it is foreseen to elaborate on the respective workshop reports, can be seen from the example in annex 1, dealing with the Republic of Ireland.

4. Assessment and evaluation

This part of the project shall deal with practical questions of assessment and evaluation seen from the perspective of the students, as the other items generally were regarded too. The practical questions will be of the following kind:

- is there continuous or punctual assessment throughout the school year?
- what is the relationship between written and oral testing?
- are there general rules on assessment, and in which way are they used?
- what is the dominant model: internal or external assessment?
- is assessment used as a means of keeping discipline?
- what is the process of assessment from the beginning of schooling to the end of upper secondary general education?
- is there repetition, to what degree, following which rules and regulations?
- what are procedures for formal assesment like marking, in which way are these procedures practised?

- what is the role of different subjects of the curriculum for annual promotion?
- is there a second chance to prevent repetition?
- are there any empirical national studies in this field?
- what is the influence of international testing on national changes in assessment?
- what is the national habit/culture towards assessment and evaluation?

Details of materials and questions asked for the reports on assessment and evaluation are listed in annex 2.

Annex 1

Workshop Report "Curricula in school – Ireland"

Draft of a structure of the report

1. Preliminary remarks or introduction with hints on the following items:
   - aims and structure of the report
   - methods of information collection and sources
   - hints on supportive persons (who participated?)
   - introduction into the topic "curriculum": what is special and contextual in Ireland?
   - the structure and content of the report

2 Legal and historical background of Irish curricula

2.1 Historical background of the Irish curriculum
   - the aims in the constitution and major developments
   - why is there a lack of an educational law as a link between the constitution and the existing rules?
   - influence of court decisions on the curriculum, etc.

2.2 New requirements from the European Community
   - Maastricht and general education
   - More and earlier foreign language education
   - more exchange of students and teachers

2.3 The "Green Paper" and its impact on curriculum
2.3.1 Requirements from the OECD-report
2.3.2 Culliton Report
2.3.3 The "Green Paper"
2.3.4 Major aims and objectives
2.3.4.1 Primary schools
2.3.4.2 Secondary schools

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2.4 Major aims and issues in the rules and regulations
2.4.1 Infant schools
2.4.2 Primary schools
2.4.3 Secondary schools (including secondary schools, comprehensives, etc.)
2.4.4 Provision of resources (curricula, textbooks, rooms, gymnasiums, special rooms for science and practical activities, creative subjects, media ..., etc.)
2.4.5 The role of the National Council on Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) as a developing agency
2.4.6 Regulations for special schools

2.5 How is the curriculum controlled?
2.5.1 Textbooks, etc.
2.5.2 Inspectorate
2.5.3 NCCA as a controlling agency
2.5.4 The role of state examinations (JCE, LCE, etc.)

2.6 Basic curricular principles
- class teacher from infant to grade 6, little differentiation
- subject teacher (how many subjects?) in grade 7-11
- orientation of (obligatory?)-optional courses, determinants of subject choice in secondary schools
- principles of training of primary and secondary school teachers

3 Analysis of curricula

3.1 Child centred curricula, syllabus and options
3.1.1 Curricula in the infant school
3.1.2 Curricula in the primary schools (including experiments, "European dimension", foreign languages)
3.1.3 Curricula in the junior cycle of post-primary schools
3.1.3.1 School year 1988/89
3.1.3.2 School year 1992/93
3.1.4 Curricula in the senior cycle of post-primary
3.1.4.1 School year 1988/89
3.1.4.2 School year 1992/93 (including the "transition year")

3.2 Curricula in Ireland – quantitative analysis of official rules (how many hours are devoted to what? Or: what is the official allocation of time under which conditions?)
3.2.1 Infant schools
3.2.2 Primary schools
3.2.3 Junior cycle
3.2.4 Senior cycle

3.3 Extra-curricular activities and community involvement and its time-dimension (festivities, performances of the school in music, theatre, etc., games, project weeks, involvement of the community and the environment, "opening of the school towards life and other places of learning, experiences and work")

3.3.1 Infant schools

3.3.2 Primary schools

3.3.3 Junior cycle

3.3.4 Senior cycle

3.4 Curricula – qualitative analysis (relations of the subjects, significance of Irish, English and foreign languages, significance of mathematics and science, social studies, religious instruction, aesthetic-creative instruction, practical instruction, physical education, relations between the curriculum and extra-curricular activities)

3.5 Additional instruction outside school

3.5.1 Foreign language instruction (especially in the primary)

3.5.2 Music, arts, sports

3.5.3 "Grinds" in general (including foreign languages that are thaught in the secondary schools)

3.6 How are textbooks recognised? How many different textbooks are recognised in 1992/93 (appendix/documentation: official guidelines for the publication of textbooks/list of textbooks in 1992/93)

3.7 Curricula in Ireland – a first summary of the official position (how things ought to be?)

4 Curricula in school-practice (how is the official curriculum put into practice of the case-studies?)

4.1 General aspects of planning and delivery of the curriculum, differences in resources, necessary caveats, choice of cases

4.1.1 Primary schools (one in a deprived area, one in "suburbia", or another one)

4.1.2 Secondary schools (secondary school, comprehensive school in ...)

4.1.3 Planning of curricular processes (content and pedagogy), relation towards the environment (either parents/students involvement in the planning/decision process, influence and relation to the community)

4.2 Case study 1: Primary school ... (No. 1)

4.2.1 General data and description of the school (number of pupils, classes, teachers, rooms, special rooms, sports grounds, gymnasium, arts room, practical special rooms ...)

4.2.2 Curricular planning and activities in infant classes (including planning for the year, the week, etc.)

4.2.3 Curricular planning and activities grade 1-6 (including planning for the year, the week, etc.)
4.2.4 Time tables infant classes
4.2.5 Time tables class 1-6
4.2.6 Use of text books (use of teachers' handbooks)
4.2.7 Use of resources
4.2.8 Other activities during week/year (festivities, project work, excursions, games, plays, participation at local feasts, etc. – perspective of the pupil ; but also the use of the school as a community facility or local cultural centre)
4.2.9 Private tuition in foreign languages, music, art, sports ...

4.3 Case study 2 : Primary school in ... (No. 2)
4.3.1-4.3.9 see 4.2.1-4.2.9 (above)
if necessary, a third primary school could be taken into the report, then the numbers of the chapter shift respectivly

4.4 Case Study 3 : Secondary school in ... (junior and senior cycle at the same school)
4.4.1 General data (see 4.2.1)
4.4.2 Curricular planning (including planning for the year, the week, etc.)
4.4.2.1 in grades 7-9
4.4.2.2 in grades 10 and 11
4.4.2.3 in the transition year
4.4.3 Time tables
4.4.3.1 Grades 7-9
4.4.3.2 Grades 10 and 11 (including possible choices among optional courses and choices made in the school-year 1992/93)
4.4.4 Use of text books (use of teachers' handbooks)
4.4.5 Use of resources
4.4.6 Orientation towards the Junior Certificate Examination (differences between "INTERCERT" and the repercussions of the JCE on the curriculum?)
4.4.7 Orientation towards the Leaving Certificate Examination (repercussions of the LCE on the curriculum?)
4.4.8 Other activities (see: 4.2.8, and in addition: students exchange with foreign countries; contacts in Europe and other areas outside Ireland e.g. class-correspondence, etc.; practica in enterprises? Other competition and prizes in connection with ...)
4.4.9 Private tuition
4.4.9.1 In foreign languages, music, art, sports
4.4.9.2 "Grinds" in everything

5. Ireland in international comparative tests – Science, maths and literacy in ETS and/or IEA or others

6. Concluding remarks

Annex 2

Workshop Report "Examinations in school – England and Wales"

In this workshop report the procedures, modes and frequency of assessment in English schools shall be described from the infant schools until the end of post-sixteen general education. Assessment is assumed to be directed towards the performance and the conduct of the students (e.g. motivation, commitment, conduct, attention). This report should comprise the rules and regulations as well as their application in school. Secondary literature on the social thinking of or about exams should be mentioned.

Basis of the report is the structure for "Examination and assessment in school" of the research project "School as a Place of Socialisation and Learning – an International Comparison on School Reality" of the German Institute for International Educational Research. In this case the structure of questions has been transformed into a structure of the workshop report and has been adapted to the English situation. Under "Material" we have named the basic sources that should be incorporated and under "Questions" the content (the answers) that should be presented in the respective chapter.

Background of this report is the ongoing debate on the "National Curriculum and Assessment" in England and Wales. New assessment schemes, being introduced with the National Curriculum in 1988, and – at the same time – the application of traditional assessment schemes in primary and secondary education; some shifts in the application of the new schemes etc. give evidence of a major change and its uncertainties. Information on both situations, the traditional and the new is necessary. The report will deal with the maintained sector of schooling mainly, but some comparisons with the (private) independent sector are indispensable and should comprise quantitative data.

Structure, Material, Questions

Chapter 1

1 Introduction
1.1 Aims of the report
1.2 Methods and sources
1.3 The role of examinations and assessment

Material:
an overview of the report and its aims, description of research methods and the sources used, introduction into the problem and phenomenon of exams and assessment

Chapter 2

2 Exams and assessment between 1967 and 1988
2.1 Role of exams
2.2 Classroom assessment

Material:
- rules and regulations
- secondary literature

Questions:
- which forms of exams existed in primary/secondary schools earlier, connections with teachers' payment (external exams) ...?
- what kind of selective exams existed between primary and secondary education and within secondary education, what were the chances of candidates?
- what had been the backwash effect of exams or entrance exams on the previous school stage?
- what kinds of competition existed (E.g. for scholarships)?
- what are the differences between the maintained and independent sector of education?
- what has been the reason and content for the shift towards national assessment schemes in 7, 11, 14, 16?
- in which way has the GCE-A exam changed?

Chapter 3

3 Exams and certificates in English and Welsh schools 1992/93
3.1 Infant classes
3.2 Primary schools
3.3 Secondary schools (11-16) and GCSE
3.4 Post-sixteen schools in general education and GCE A-Level

Material
- rules and regulations
- official circulars
- secondary literature

Questions
- how is the system of assessment determined?
- are there internal and/or external exams?
- are there terminal or contiuous kinds of assessment?
- what is the basic format/type of exams and certificates?
- what is the role of exams and certificates in public life and what are the expectations of parents, intaking institutions of education, employers, etc.?
- what role is played by certificates and exams in vocational decisions and in occupation?

- which role play certificates and exams for further education?
- are there differences between the maintained and independent sector?
- are there gender differences?

Chapter 4

4 Assessment of student performance, marks and promotion 1992/93
4.1 Infant classes
4.2 Primary schools
4.3 Secondary education (11-16)
4.4 Post-sixteen general education

Material
- rules, regulations
- circulars
- secondary literature

Questions
- which formats of assessment of students performance exist:
  a) related to every-day practice?
  b) related to the school year, the three terms?
  c) related to the stages during the period of schooling?
  d) how often is which format of assessment being used?
  (per day, per week, per school year, during the whole period of schooling)
- which format of assessment dominates at various levels?
- what role do marks (in figures/letters) play, and for what level of schooling?
- which rules for marks in figures/letters do exist?
- are there rules for other kinds of assessment?
- what are the basic principles/fundamentals for assessment?
- what is the basic orientation of assessment? ("Knowledge and 'learning by heart' = product orientation" or "process orientation, problem solving, self evaluation of the student")
- is there objective and obligatory assessment?
- are there nation-wide tests/assessment schemes? (E.g. public exams vs. local or school-based internal exams)
- are there special/compulsory guidelines for the practice of assessment and evaluation?
- which rules/aids exist for teachers?
- what degree of discretion (Ermessen) exists for teachers, how do they use it?
- how are the criteria for assessment made transparent and valid for the students?
- what is the relationship between pedagogical functions of assessment and their function towards selection and entitlement; resp. is there an evaluation (even self-evaluation) of learner's performance or a control in the sense of selection?

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- what format of failure is there ("repetition") from infant to final classes? What is the rate of failure (repetition) in % and absolute figures per year?
- which format is there in case of cheating during tests, class work, assessment?

Chapter 5

5 Practice of assessment and certification in Dorset
5.1 Infant classes
5.2 Primary schools
5.3 Secondary schools (11-16)
5.4 Post-sixteen general education

Material
- if possible: case studies for the different levels of schooling
- reports from the assessment unit Dorset Educational Authority
- experience-based material
- illustrative material for the situation in Dorset County
- secondary literature

Questions:
- which formal stages of assessment exist and how are they applied/used in practice (marking by figures/letters in stages from ... to ...; meaning of stages)?
- what is the relation of single subjects (core subjects and others) with regard to success in given years of schooling? Are there possibilities of compensation for bad/good performance between the subjects?
- how many assessments occur during and at the end of each school year, what form do these assessments take (class work, exercise tests, tests on a loose sheet of paper, oral but marked tests, marked home work, essay writing at home, standardised tests); what amount of time is needed for that?
- how are the dimensions of behaviour assessed (motivation, conduct, attention, commitment in school) and how are these assessments mentioned in certificates (as figures/letters or texts; please give some examples)?
- what are the relations between the marks for "behaviour" and the marks for academic achievement? Are marks for behaviour included into the marks for academic achievement in cases when there are no separated marks for behaviour?
- how are the learners involved in assessment and evaluation, in which ways are the criteria for assessment made transparent?
- which format of failure (e.g. repetition) is used in the various grades from infant to the end of post-sixteen education? How many children out of ... (as a whole of the grade) did not succeed in the school year 1991/92 in their class or in the respective exams (absolute and in % of the given grade)?
- what has been done to prevent failure? Is there a format of remediation or "second chance", e.g. an exam in one or two subjects after the end of the school year and how is this format applied?

- how consistently have the regulations on "cheating" been applied in the schools? What happens if someone is caught e.g. in a written exam/class work, etc.? How many of these cases occured in the schools during the past two years?

Chapter 6

Concluding remarks

Annex 3

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE PROJECT

I Volumes published at Böhlau-Verlag, Köln, Weimar and Vienna as parts of "Studien zu vergleichenden Bildungsforschung", ed. by Wolfgang Mitter

Vol. 48: ZEIT FÜR SCHULE

1 Peter Döbrich/Wolfgang Huck/Gerlind Schmidt
BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND/
DEUTSCHE DEMOKRATISCHE REPUBLIK. 1990.

2 Botho von Kopp
JAPAN. 1990.

3 Heliodor Muszynski/Leonid Novikov
POLEN/SOWJETUNION. 1990.

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Wolfgang Huck

Intranationaler Vergleich der Unterrichtszeit, Zeit in der Schule und schulbezogenen Zeit in Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen

Zusammenfassung:

Das Forschungsprojekt "Zeit für Schule – ein internationaler Vergleich" ist ein Bestandteil einer internationalen Vergleichsuntersuchung über die Zeit, die der Schulbildung und anderen auf die Schule bezogenen Aktivitäten in verschiedenen Ländern gewidmet wird. Der Vergleich erfolgt unter drei Hauptparametern: *Unterrichtszeit, Zeit in der Schule* und *schulbezogene Zeit*. Eine Analyse der Ergebnisse aus den deutschen Bundesländern wird im folgenden intra-nationalen Vergleich präsentiert, der über Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen berichtet.

Intra-national Comparison of Instructional Time, Time in School, and School-related Time in Bavaria, Hamburg and Hesse

Summary:

The research project "Time for School – an International Comparison" is part of an international comparative study of time devoted to schooling and school-related matters across different countries. The comparison is made under three major headings: *Instructional Time, Time in School* and *School-related Time*. An analysis of results of German Länder is given in the following intra-national comparison. This report includes Bavaria, Hamburg and Hesse.

1. Einleitung

Der Aufsatz beinhaltet einen intra-nationalen Vergleich zwischen den Bundesländern Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen in den ausgewählten Zeitbegriffen "Unterrichtszeit", "Zeit in der Schule" und "Schulbezogene Zeit".

Diese Zeitparameter wurden in einer Untersuchungsreihe des Deutschen Instituts für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung innerhalb eines Institutsschwerpunkts, der den "Erziehungsraum Schule" im internationalen Vergleich zum Gegenstand hat, definiert. Dabei sollen neben dem weitgehend abgeschlossenen Thema "Zeit für Schule" als internationaler quantitativer Vergleich auch die Bereiche Curricula in der Schule, Prüfungen und Leistungsmessungen sowie Unterrichtsstile im internationalen Vergleich untersucht werden.

Die Zeitstudien wurden in einem mehrstufigen Verfahren erarbeitet: Nach Erstellung von Werkstattberichten wurden präzisere Vergleichskriterien erarbeitet und die jeweiligen Länderstudien wurden daraufhin überarbeitet. Bisher liegen 13 Studien zu den Ländern Bundesrepublik Deutschland/DDR, Japan, ehemalige Sowjetunion/Polen, Italien/Griechenland, England und Wales/Niederlande, Frankreich/Spanien und Dänemark/Irland vor. Die gemeinsamen Untersuchungskategorien sind: Unterrichtszeit, Zeit in der Schule und schulbezogene Zeit.

Die Unterrichtszeit (UZ) beinhaltet die Zeitabschnitte, die für Unterricht aufgewendet werden zuzüglich der pädagogisch relevanten Zeitaufwendungen für Exkursionen, Schulfeiern, Projektwochen, Arbeitsgruppen, Klassenarbeiten oder Prüfungszeiträume und Praktika.

Die Zeit in der Schule (ZIS) umfaßt neben der Unterrichtszeit die Pausen, Betreuungs- und Essenszeiten und weitere Zeiten, in denen sich Schüler physisch in der Schule befinden.

Die schulbezogene Zeit (SZ) umfaßt die Zeit in der Schule sowie die Zeitaufwendungen für Hausaufgaben, Schulweg, Nachhilfeunterricht in verschiedener Form sowie darüberhinaus schulbezogene außerschulische Unterrichtsveranstaltungen, beispielsweise Musik, Sport, Kunst, Sprachen oder Religion, sofern sie quantifizierbar waren.

Für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland wurden für die Zeitstudie die drei Bundesländer Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen ausgewählt. Durch das föde-

rale System in der Bundesrepublik gibt es in den einzelnen Bundesländern jeweils etwas unterschiedliche Schulsysteme, die durch Rahmenabkommen zwischen den einzelnen Ländern in verschiedenen Bereichen angeglichen sind[1]. Anhand der vorliegenden Daten sollen die Tendenzen der Gesamtzeiten für Schule dargestellt werden und eine Analyse über ihre Struktur gezeigt werden.

2. Kritik an Schule

In der Bundesrepublik Deutschland ist die Schule in den letzten Jahren – besonders im Hinblick auf ihre Effektivität – in die Diskussion geraten. Gutachten von Wirtschaftsberatungsinstituten kamen zu dem Ergebnis, daß die Schule ökonomisch gesehen nicht effektiv sei[2]. Studien über Schülermeinungen zeigen, daß auch die bundesdeutschen Schüler im internationalen Vergleich von ihrer Schule nur sehr wenig halten[3]. Auf der anderen Seite ist eine Zunahme der gesellschaftlichen Forderung nach mehr Betreuung durch Schule festzustellen und es gewinnt – durch einen gesellschaftlichen Wandel (steigender Anteil von Alleinerziehenden und Zunahme der sogenannten Doppelverdiener) – die Forderung nach Ausweitung von Betreuung immer mehr Bedeutung und wird auch schon teilweise umgesetzt in der Einrichtung von Schulen mit Betreuungscharakter[4].

Hier soll nun eine Bestandsaufnahme und Analyse der Ist-Situation in den Bundesländern Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen im Hinblick auf die oben genannten Tendenzen vorgestellt werden. Der Untersuchungszeitraum war das Schuljahr 1988/89. Seither wurden die Stundentafeln in den

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1 Insbesondere das Abkommen zwischen den Ländern der Bundesrepublik zur Vereinheitlichung auf dem Gebiet des Schulwesens vom 28.10.1964, das sogenannte "Hamburger Abkommen" der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (KMK), regelt u.a. die Rahmenstrukturen der Schulsysteme und deren gegenseitige Anerkennung.

2 Besonders das "Kienbaum-Gutachten", das die Nordrhein-Westfälische Regierung in Auftrag gegeben hat und das zum Teil der Schule Uneffektivität bescheinigte, sorgt in der aktuellen Schuldiskussion für heftige Auseinandersetzungen.

3 Vgl. dazu: Universität Lüneburg: Internationale Untersuchung von Schülerurteilen über die Schule. – Tabellenband. Lüneburg 1989.

4 In Hessen sollen z.B. in den nächsten Jahren viele Grundschulen mit festen Öffnungszeiten mit Betreuung eingerichtet werden.

untersuchten Ländern leicht modifiziert; allgemein ist eine Tendenz zur Kürzung der Stundentafeln festzustellen.

Für die Analyse wurden folgende Schulvarianten aus den einzelnen Ländern ausgewählt:

Bayern: Klasse 1-4 der Grundschule mit 5-Tage-Woche und inklusive Basissportunterricht sowie Klasse 5-11 und Stufe 12 und 13 des Gymnasiums mit 5 1/2-Tage-Woche und inklusive Basissportunterricht (bis maximal Klasse 11)

Hamburg: Klasse 1-4 der Grundschule sowie Klasse 5-10 Gymnasium und Stufe 11-13 Gymnasium (mit 5-Tage-Woche)

Hessen: Klasse 1-4 der Grundschule mit 5-Tage-Woche und Klasse 5-10 und Stufe 11-13 Gymnasium.

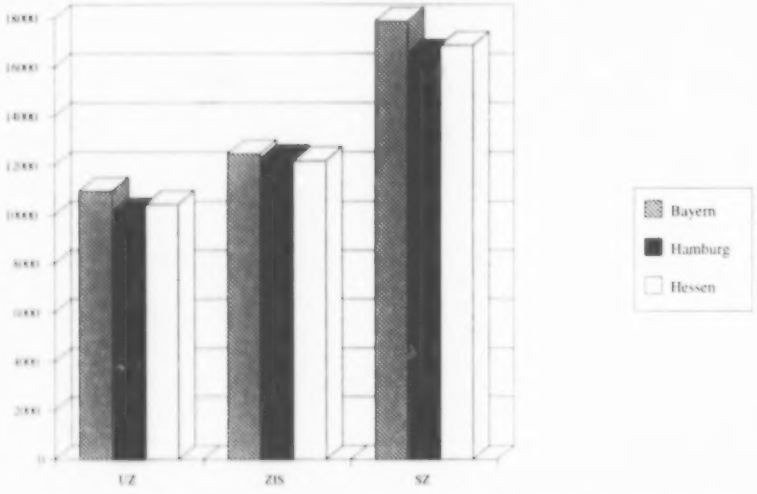
In den Gymnasien wurde jeweils die Stundentafel für Schüler mit zwei Fremdsprachen zugrunde gelegt. In Bayern und Hessen kann für Schüler mit einer dritten Fremdsprache die Unterrichtszeit – und damit auch alle weiteren Zeitparameter – in Klasse 9 und 10 bis zu 10% höher sein als für Schüler mit zwei Fremdsprachen.

Es muß besonders betont werden, daß die Variationsmöglichkeiten in den drei Kategorien zwischen und auch innerhalb der Bundesländer groß sein können. Selbst innerhalb einzelner Schulformen, die – gemessen an ihrer Dauer in Jahren – gleich aussehen, kann es zum Teil deutliche Unterschiede geben. Auch gibt es nicht nur *eine* Schulwirklichkeit. Selbst innerhalb derselben Schulform in einem Bundesland kann es in der Schulrealität deutliche Unterschiede selbst zwischen Nachbarschulen geben. Schulen können in den Bundesländern mehr oder weniger stark eigene Profile ausbilden. So gibt es beispielsweise Schulen, die besonderen Wert auf ein musikalisches Profil legen; in diesen Schulen wird der Musikunterricht in der Regel nicht ausfallen, sondern durch zusätzliche musikalische Angebote wie Schulchor, Schulorchester oder -band, Instrumentalunterricht usw. im Wahlflichtbereich und Wahlbereich erweitert.

3. Unterrichtszeit, Zeit in der Schule und schulbezogene Zeit im Durchlauf des allgemeinbildenden Schulwesens

Die Gesamtzeiten der untersuchten Schulzeitparameter in den untersuchten Ländern im Durchlauf durch das allgemeinbildende Schulsystem zwischen Klasse 1 und 13 (Grundschulen und Gymnasien) sind im folgenden Schaubild dargestellt:

Schaubild 1: Summe der Unterrichtszeit, der Zeit in der Schule und der schulbezogenen Zeit in Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen im Durchlauf von Klasse 1-13 in Zeitstunden



Die *Unterrichtszeit* ist in erster Linie abhängig vom Umfang der Stundentafeln und der Anzahl der Unterrichtstage. Die Summen der Unterrichtszeiten liegen zwischen 10 115 (Hamburg) und 10 970 (Bayern). Der Unterschied beträgt ca. 8%. Das Unterrichtsangebot in Hamburg ist geringer als in Bayern und Hessen; jedoch hat Hamburg weniger Feiertage und damit mehr Unterrichtstage. Dadurch ist die Differenz nicht so groß, wie sie durch die gemessene Differenz des Umfangs der Stundentafeln erwartet werden konnte[5].

5 Laut Stundentafeln bietet Bayern im Grundschulbereich ca. 21%, im Bereich der Sekundarstufe I ca. 6% und im Bereich der Sekundarstufe II 12% mehr gegenüber Hamburg an.

Die Summen der *Zeit in der Schule* liegen zwischen 12 214 (Hessen) und 12 485 (Bayern) Stunden. Es besteht demnach kein wesentlicher Unterschied (ca. 2%) zwischen den einzelnen Ländern. Trotz festgestellter deutlicher Unterschiede in den Stundentafeln sind die Schüler in den hier untersuchten Bundesländern etwa gleich lange in der Schule anwesend; dies wird vor allen Dingen durch die Unterschiede in den Pausenzeiten bewirkt (Bayern hat insgesamt geringere Vorgaben für Pausenzeiten als Hamburg und Hessen).

Die *schulbezogene Zeit* beinhaltet neben den Zeitkomponenten von Zeit in der Schule die Schulwegzeiten, die für diese Studie geschätzt werden mußte, und die Hausaufgaben (als Maximal- bzw. Richtwertzeiten entsprechend den amtlichen Verordnungen).

Die Summen der schulbezogenen Zeiten liegen zwischen 16 553 (Hamburg) und 17 871 Stunden (Bayern). Der Unterschied beträgt ca. 9%. Die hier festgestellten Unterschiede – vor allem zwischen Bayern auf der einen und Hamburg und Hessen auf der anderen Seite – ergeben sich in erster Linie durch die deutlich höheren Zeitanteile für Hausaufgaben in Bayern. Die zeitliche Belastung der Schüler durch Schule insgesamt setzt sich zu einem hohen Anteil aus außerunterrichtlichen Zeitkomponenten – Pausen, Schulweg und Hausaufgaben – zusammen. Bei den Hausaufgaben gewinnt dadurch der Einfluß des privaten Bereichs, d.h. die häusliche Infrastruktur der Schüler, wie Arbeitsbedingungen, Betreuung durch Eltern usw. ein größeres Gewicht für das Lernen.

Der Zeitfaktor "Hausaufgaben" – als außerschulische aber schulbezogene Lernzeit – wirkt sich damit auf die zeitliche Belastung und indirekt zu einem gewissen Teil auch auf den Schulerfolg der Schüler deutlich aus. Die bayerischen Schüler sind somit "außerschulisch" stärker belastet als die hamburgischen und hessischen Schüler. Die Unterschiede im Durchlauf der einzelnen Klassenstufen werden im folgenden Abschnitt sichtbar.

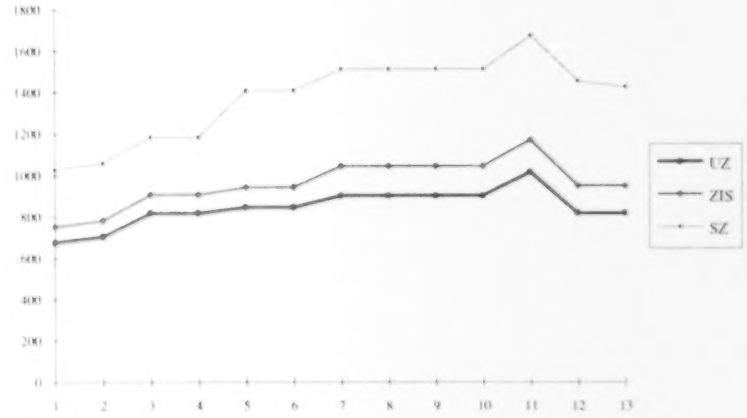
4. Veränderungen von Zeitkomponenten im Durchlauf des Schulwesens

Der Anteil der einzelnen Schulzeitkomponenten an der gesamten Zeit für Schule ist im Durchlauf der einzelnen Schuljahre Veränderungen unterworfen. Hier soll nun der Verlauf dieser zeitlichen Anteile in den Jahrgangsstufen dargestellt und untersucht werden. Ein besonderes Augenmerk soll dabei die Frage haben, ob es deutliche "Knickpunkte" in einzelnen Klassen gibt, bei denen eine deutliche Zu- oder Abnahme des Anteils

an schulbezogener Zeit – den eher privaten Belastungen – gegenüber dem Anteil der Unterrichtszeit (bzw. der Zeit in der Schule), also dem direkten öffentlichen Angebot, sichtbar werden.

Bayern:

Schaubild 2: Zeit für Schule in Bayern im Durchlauf der Schuljahre in Stunden



In Bayern steigt die Unterrichtszeit und die Zeit in der Schule (also das "öffentliche Angebot") bis Klasse 11 allmählich an, mit einer Abnahme in Klasse 12 und 13. Die Kurve der schulbezogenen Zeit (also der privaten Belastungen) steigt nach einem allmählichen Anstieg bis Klasse 4 in Klasse 5 und in Klasse 7 deutlich an und stagniert bis Klasse 10 auf einem hohen Niveau. Bis zum Ende der Schulzeit bleibt der Abstand zu der Unterrichtszeit in etwa gleich hoch. Ein Maximum aller Schulzeitkomponenten wird in der Klasse 11 erreicht.

Der relativ hohe Anteil der Hausaufgaben an der gesamten Zeit für Schule ist in Bayern in der Klasse 5 und 6 – also direkt nach der Grundschule – (und weiterhin in Klasse 12 und 13) am höchsten; er beträgt in Klasse 5 annähernd 26% an der schulbezogenen Zeit (und 43% verglichen mit der Unterrichtszeit). Das heißt, die "privaten Belastungen" für die Schüler ab der Jahrgangsstufe 5, in der die Trennung der Grundschüler in das mehrgliedrige Schulwesen vollzogen wird, sind besonders hoch.

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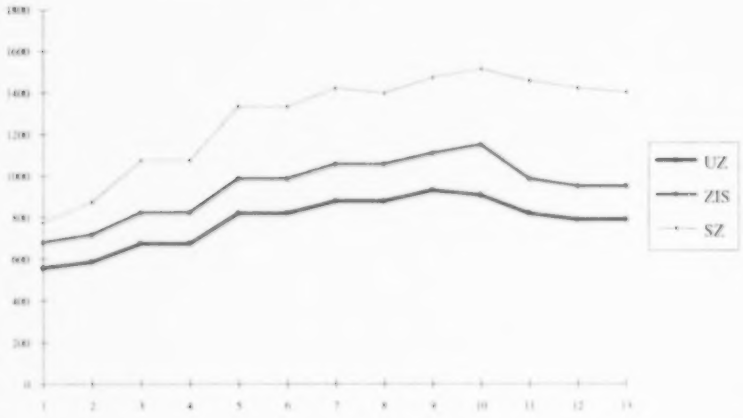
Hamburg:

Schaubild 3: Zeit für Schule in Hamburg im Durchlauf der Schuljahre in Stunden



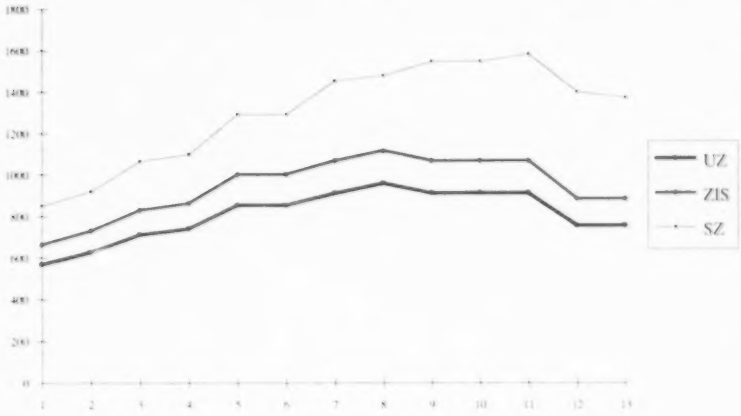
In Hamburg steigen die Kurven der einzelnen Schulkomponenten von einem relativ niedrigen Niveau in Klasse 1 bis zur Klasse 10 kontinuierlich an. Die "Schere" zwischen der Unterrichtszeit und der schulbezogenen Zeit klafft nicht so weit auseinander wie in Bayern. Jedoch kann auch in Hamburg in Klasse 5 ein Sprung der – vor allem durch die Hausaufgaben bedingten – schulbezogenen Zeit nach oben festgestellt werden. Ab Klasse 11 fallen die Kurven für die Unterrichtszeit und die Zeit in der Schule deutlich, die Kurve für schulbezogene Zeit etwas ab.

In Hessen steigen die Kurven aller Schulzeitkomponenten bis Klasse 6 relativ gleichmäßig an. Ab Klasse 7 bleiben die Kurven der Unterrichtszeit und der Zeit in der Schule bis Klasse 11 auf etwa gleichem Niveau (mit Ausnahme eines minimalen Anstiegs in der Klasse 8 – bedingt durch die Praktikumszeiten), während die schulbezogene Zeit deutlich bis Klasse 11 ansteigt. Ab Klasse 12 sinken die Kurven aller Komponenten.

Im Gegensatz zu Bayern (und teilweise zu Hamburg) steigt der Anteil der Hausaufgaben an der schulbezogenen Zeit nicht in Klasse 5, sondern erst in Klasse 7 deutlich an (von 15% auf 20%). Der höchste Anteil der Hausaufgaben an der schulbezogenen Zeit liegt in Klasse 12 mit 27%.

Hessen:

Schaubild 4: Zeit für Schule in Hessen im Durchlauf der Schuljahre in Stunden



Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, daß die Anteile der Unterrichtszeit gegenüber der schulbezogenen Zeit in den hier untersuchten Bundesländern mit 61-62% etwa gleich hoch sind.

Tabelle 1: Anteil der Schulzeitkomponenten an der schulbezogenen Zeit in Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen (in Prozent)

Land	Unterrichts-zeit	Pausen	Schul-weg	Hausauf-gaben	schulbezo-gene Zeit
Bayern	61,4	8,5	7,9	22,2	100
Hamburg	61,1	13,0	5,5	20,4	100
Hessen	61,8	10,5	8,3	19,4	100

Unterschiede gibt es bei den Pausen, wo der Anteil in Bayern relativ niedrig (8,5%) und in Hamburg relativ hoch ist (13,5%). Der Anteil der Schulwegzeiten ist im Stadtstaat Hamburg geringer als in den Flächenstaaten Bayern und Hessen (diese Daten beruhen auf Schätzwerten). Die Anteile der Hausaufgaben an der schulbezogenen Zeit weisen im Gesamtvergleich aller Schuljahre eher geringe Unterschiede zwischen den Bundes-

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ländern auf (max. 2,8%), jedoch wurden deutliche Unterschiede im Verlauf einzelner Schuljahre festgestellt. So steigt der Anteil der Hausaufgaben in Bayern und – etwas weniger deutlich in Hamburg – ab Klasse 5 deutlich an, während in Hessen ein solcher "Sprung" erst in Klasse 7 zu messen ist. Die private Zeitbelastung der Schüler mit Hausaufgaben ist in Bayern insgesamt – und besonders in Klasse 5 – höher als in Hamburg und Hessen.

5. Wöchentliche Belastungen mit schulbezogener Zeit

Auf der Basis der ermittelten Zeitwerte lassen sich durchschnittliche Angaben über die wöchentlichen Belastungen mit schulbezogener Zeit im Durchlauf durch das Schulwesen machen. Dabei muß daran erinnert werden, daß es sich um "Soll"-Zeiten bei der Unterrichtszeit, den Pausen und Hausaufgaben sowie um begründete Schätzungen der Schulwege handelt. Von diesen Zeiten wird es sicherlich positive und negative Abweichungen im Einzelfall und auch im Ablauf der einzelnen Schuljahre geben. Hier geht es vor allen Dingen um die Frage, wie weit die schulbezogene Belastung offensichtlich von der Halbtagsschule abweicht, bzw. sich der gegenwärtigen Normalarbeitszeit von ca. 38,5 Stunden pro Woche annähert oder diese sogar übersteigt. Hurrelmann/Mansel haben in einer repräsentativen Untersuchung in Nordrhein-Westfalen festgestellt, daß 83,7% der Jugendlichen in der Gymnasialen Oberstufe mehr als 35 Stunden pro Woche für die Schule aufwenden (51,3% sogar mehr als 40 Stunden pro Woche).[6] Hurrelmann und Mansel hatten diese Daten im Rahmen einer empirischen Erhebung unter dem Stichwort "Schulstunden und Zeiten für schulische Vor- und Nachbereitung" ermittelt. Dabei wurden allerdings die Unterrichtsstunden als volle Zeitstunden veranschlagt, um Pausen mitzuerfassen.

Aus unseren Erhebungen wissen wir jedoch, daß die Einzelkomponenten Unterrichtszeiten, Pausen und Hausaufgaben durchaus länderspezifisch verschieden sein können. Die von uns ermittelten Daten der durchschnittlichen schulbezogenen Zeit in Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen sind in der folgenden Tabelle ausgewiesen.

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6 Hurrelmann, K./Mansel, J. u.a.: Info für Jugendliche und junge Erwachsene über die Befragungen in Bielefeld, Essen und im Kreis Lippe. Bielefeld: Universität 1990, S.12 (Tab. 5).

Tabelle 2: Durchschnittliche schulbezogene Zeit in Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen pro Woche in Zeitstunden

Klasse	Bayern	Hamburg	Hessen
1	27,3	19,8	22,5
2	28,1	22,4	24,3
3	31,5	27,5	28,2
4	31,5	27,5	29,1
5	37,5	34,2	34,1
6	37,5	34,2	34,1
7	40,2	36,5	38,4
8	40,2	35,8	39,1
9	40,2	37,8	40,9
10	40,2	38,9	40,9
11	44,5	37,4	41,8
12	38,6	36,5	37,0
13	37,9	36,0	36,3
Gesamt	457,3	424,4	446,7
Mittelwert	36,6	32,6	34,4

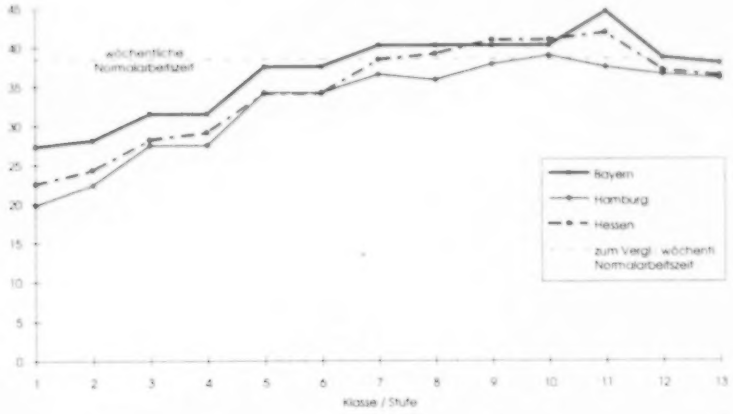
Die durchschnittliche zeitliche Inanspruchnahme durch die Schule pro Woche liegt – nach unseren Berechnungen – im Durchlauf der Schuljahre in Bayern bei 36,6 Stunden pro Woche, in Hamburg bei 32,6 Stunden pro Woche und in Hessen bei 34,4 Stunden pro Woche. Die höchste Belastung wurde in Bayern in der Klasse 11 mit 44,5 Stunden pro Woche ermittelt. In Hamburg liegt der Höchstwert in der Klasse 10 mit 38,9 und in Hessen in der Klasse 11 mit 41,8 Stunden pro Woche.

Das folgende Schaubild, in dem die wöchentliche Zeitbelastung der Schüler in den hier untersuchten Bundesländern im Verlauf dargestellt ist, soll grafisch veranschaulichen, wie hoch der jetzige Zeitverbrauch für Schule im Vergleich mit der "Normalarbeitszeit"[7] ist. Eine Vergleichbarkeit mit einer hier angenommenen Normalarbeitszeit von 38,5 Stunden pro Woche ist nicht eingeschränkt, da die Pausen in der Schule unseres Erachtens auch ein wichtiger Bestandteil des pädagogischen Lernprozesses

7 Hier wurde für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland eine durchschnittliche wöchentliche Arbeitszeit von 38,5 Stunden vorausgesetzt. Diese Wochenarbeitszeit gilt z.B seit 1.4.1990 für Beschäftigte des öffentlichen Dienstes.

der Schule sind und auch in der Arbeitswelt bereits in einzelnen Tarifvereinbarungen als fester Bestandteil von Arbeit festgeschrieben wurden (beispielsweise bei den Beschäftigten der Post). Die Schulwegzeiten haben – im Gegensatz zum Berufsleben – nur einen relativ geringen Anteil an der zeitlichen Gesamtbelastung.

Schaubild 5: Schulbezogene Zeit pro Woche in Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen im Durchlauf der Schuljahre in Stunden



Im Grundschulbereich (bis Klasse 4) liegt die wöchentliche Gesamtbelastung der Schüler in allen hier untersuchten Ländern deutlich unter der wöchentlichen Normalarbeitszeit, wobei die Belastung in Bayern auf einem relativ hohen Niveau (27,3 Std.) beginnt. Ab Klasse 5 ist in allen Ländern ein deutlicher Belastungs-"Sprung" festzustellen. In Klasse 5 erreicht die Gesamtbelastung der bayrischen Schüler mit 37,5 Stunden annähernd die wöchentliche Normalarbeitszeit. Diese wird in Bayern zwischen Klasse 7 und 11, in Hessen zwischen Klasse 9 und 11 und in Hamburg in Klasse 10 sogar überschritten.

Diese hohe zeitliche Belastung der Schüler während der Unterrichtswochen wird teilweise sogar noch erhöht durch außerschulische schulergänzende Angebote, wie beispielsweise Nachhilfe oder Hausaufgabenbetreuung. Außerdem nehmen viele Schüler zwar außerschulische, jedoch schul-

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bezogene Angebote im privaten Bereich (Sportvereine, Musik- bzw. Instrumentalunterricht usw.) wahr.

6. Zusammenfassung und Schlußfolgerungen

Bei der Analyse der zeitlichen Strukturen von Schule in Bayern, Hamburg und Hessen konnte in dieser Studie festgestellt werden, daß die Schüler insgesamt ein hohes Maß an Zeit für Schule aufwenden. Im Bereich der Kategorie der schulbezogenen Zeit liegt die schulische Inanspruchnahme zum Teil über der wöchentlichen Normalarbeitszeit von derzeit ca. 38,5 Stunden in Deutschland. Hinzu kommen die außerschulischen, schulbezogenen Aktivitäten der Schüler, wie z.B. Nachhilfe, Musikunterricht, Tätigkeiten in Sportvereinen usw., die in dieser Untersuchung nicht quantifiziert wurden. Unterschiede zwischen den unterschiedlichen Stundentafeln der einzelnen Länder wurden festgestellt, jedoch sind die Auswirkungen auf die zeitliche Inanspruchnahme durch die Schule nicht so hoch, wie erwartet.

Insgesamt bleibt festzuhalten, daß bei einem gestiegenen gesellschaftlichen Bedarf an Betreuungsangeboten auf der einen Seite und – bedingt auch durch finanzielle Schwierigkeiten der Länderhaushalte – Tendenzen, das Unterrichtsangebot zu kürzen, über eine andere Verwendung von Zeit für Schule nachgedacht werden sollte.

Eine Neugestaltung der Schulzeit kann jedoch nur durch eine innere Reform der Zeitverwendung für Schule stattfinden. Dabei wäre es u.a. nötig, die bisherige Halbtagsschule mit unregelmäßigen Zeiten durch eine Halbtagsschule mit erweiterten festen Randzeiten (feste Anfangs- und Endzeiten) zu ersetzen. Dies ermöglichte vielfältige alternative Perspektiven im Umgang mit der Zeit, da die Schüler über die bisher festgelegten zeitlich starren Unterrichtsfächer, die durch die jeweiligen Stundentafeln vorgegeben sind, physisch anwesend wären und diese zusätzlichen "Zeitnischen" pädagogisch ausgefüllt werden könnten. Für die hier definierten Zeitkategorien hieße das: Die Zeit in der Schule müßte deutlich erhöht, die schulbezogene Zeit mit dem hohen Anteil an Hausaufgaben im Gegenzug gesenkt werden. Durch eine Regelmäßigkeit wäre auch der Bedarf vieler Eltern nach mehr Betreuung der Schüler durch Schule gedeckt. In bestimmten Fällen – z.B. in Großstädten – wäre auch die zusätzliche Schaffung weiterer Ganztagsangebote als Erweiterung des Schulangebots notwendig.

Damit eine Erhöhung der "Zeit in der Schule" nicht auf Kosten der Arbeitszeit der Lehrer geschieht, bzw. eine nicht finanzierbare Expansion des Lehrerbedarfs zur Folge hätte, müßten alternative Methoden der Zeitverwendung in den Schulen angewandt werden. Die Zeit in der Schule müßte mit mehr Autonomie für die einzelnen Schüler einhergehen, das heißt tatsächlich ***weniger*** Betreuung durch die Lehrer. Es müßte nach Aufgabenstellungen gesucht werden, die die Schüler weitgehend ohne Lehrer ausführen könnten. Wiederholungen und Übungen, aber auch fächerübergreifende Projekt- und Gruppenarbeiten könnten durchaus nach einer Anleitungsphase ohne Lehrer selbstverantwortlich in den oben skizzierten Zeitnischen durchgeführt werden. Überhaupt sollte die Eigenverantwortlichkeit der Schüler schrittweise gesteigert werden. Ein zum Teil immer noch sehr hohes Maß an Fremdbestimmung in der Schulwirklichkeit und der zur Zeit zunehmende Druck, der die Schüler durch Kürzungen der Stundentafeln bei gleichbleibenden Unterrichtsinhalten stärker belasten wird, führt sicherlich zu immer stärkeren Ablehnungs- und Verweigerungserscheinungen von deutschen Schülern[8]. Eine Erhöhung der Eigenverantwortlichkeit der Schüler erfordert natürlich einen kontinuierlichen Lern- und Umdenkungsprozess bei Schülern und Lehrern gleichermaßen. Die momentanen Veränderungen von Zeitstrukturen in Schule sind auch eine Chance, den Umgang mit der Zeit so zu verändern, daß Schule ein Ort bleibt, in dem neben der reinen Vermittlung von Lerninhalten auch die erzieherischen Aspekte einen hohen Stellenwert haben.

8 Vgl. dazu: Körfgen, P.: Was Schüler von Schule halten. In: Erziehung und Wissenschaft, 40 (1988) 9, S.13-14; auch: Graudenz, I./Randoll, D.: Ergebnisse einer Befragung von jungen Erwachsenen (Abiturienten) über ihre Wahrnehmung von Schule. Frankfurt am Main: Deutsches Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung, 1992.

Wolfgang Huck

Time for School – Initial Results from an International Comparison

Summary:

The research project "Time for School – an International Comparison" is part of the project "School as a Place of Socialisation and Learning – an International Comparison on School Reality" at the German Institute for International Educational Research. The time structures of 14 countries were registered and compared according to the defined parameters *instructional time*, *time in school*, and *school-related time*. This article presents some problems of methodology and outlines a few initial results of the international comparative research study.

Zeit für Schule – Erste Ergebnisse eines internationalen Vergleichs

Zusammenfassung:

Das Forschungsprojekt "Zeit für Schule - ein internationaler Vergleich" ist ein Bestandteil des Projekts "Erziehungsraum Schule – ein internationaler Vergleich zur Schulwirklichkeit" am Deutschen Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung. Unter den definierten Parametern *Unterrichtszeit*, *Zeit in der Schule* und *Schulbezogene Zeit* wurden die Zeitstrukturen von 14 Ländern erfaßt und verglichen. In diesem Beitrag werden einige methodologische Probleme aufgezeigt und erste Forschungsergebnisse des internationalen Vergleichs skizziert.

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1. Introduction

These opening comments concern some methodological problems in the international comparative study on time for school. There are many problems in comparing the results of separate studies in individual countries. Most international studies on *time in school* only present particular aspects, for example, how much instructional time is devoted to mathematics for the age-group of 13, or are based on official government statements. We tried to find out in which way, from the perspective of the students, time for school is structured according to defined comparable categories, from the beginning of schooling until the end of upper secondary education. This 'global perspective' contains some special difficulties as far as method is concerned.

The first difficulty in an international comparison like this lies in the different basic sources. Some countries, e.g. the federal states in Germany, have official time tables for the instructional time in school, other countries have not. Some results of the country studies are based on empirical studies, for example Ireland, or on an 'adjustment' of empirical studies and official data. In some cases it was necessary to use average figures of given maximum and minimum items.

Additionally, there are differences between the countries with official time tables. In Japan, the instructional time in the schools themselves is normally higher than the official time tables indicate. On the other hand, in some states in Germany the real instructional time is mostly shorter (up to 10%) than indicated in the time tables. Finally, it was necessary to use some estimated figures within the country studies, such as time for travelling and time for homework.

These are some of the problems of this global comparative study. We think we have found relatively correct tendencies for time for school in the different countries from the perspective of the pupils, therefore we are close to school reality. But we also know that school reality varies within the countries and often within neighbouring schools. Despite strict, official school regulations, for example in Hesse for the end of a school year, some schools stop their instructional activities and terminate the school year earlier. For this reason, we will not present the exact number of hours but some tendencies of the time results. These tendencies cannot give an insight into the quality of schooling in the countries, but the quantity of time for school is an important parameter for the role of schooling in the individual countries and their socio-cultural change. The social and economic use of time in the different societies has been changing during recent years.

2. Initial results

Introductory, we will compare the total amount of school days within the school systems in the countries involved in our study. Some states have a 5-day-week (e.g. the Netherlands, Hungary, Hamburg), some countries have/had a 6-day-week (e.g. Japan, German Democratic Republic) and there are also countries which have a mixture between a 5- and 6-day-week (some Saturdays are free as in secondary schools in Hesse or Bavaria). Therefore it is not possible to compare the number of school days directly.

A framework of schooling in the different countries is shown in the following table:

Table 1: Framework of schooling (in grades) through the school systems

Country	Maximum	Minimum 1	Minimum 2	Days per week
Bavaria	1-13	1-9	1-9	5 1/2*
Hamburg	1-13	1-9	1-9	5
Hesse	1-13	1-9	1-9	5 1/2*
GDR	K1, K2, 1-12	K1, K2, 1-10	1-10	6
France	EM , EM ; 1-12	EM1, EM2,1-9	1-9	5 or 6**
Spain	1-12	1-9	1-9	5
Italy	1-13	1-9	1-9	6
Greece	K1, K2, 1-12	K1, K2, 1-9	1-9	5
Ireland	JI, SI, 1-13	JI, SI, 1-9	1-9	5
England/Wales	14 years	12 years	12 years	5
Netherlands	1-14	1-12	2-12	5
Denmark	K1, 1-12	K1, 1-9	1-9	5
USSR	1-11	1-9	1-9	6
Poland	0, 1-12	0, 1-8	0, 1-8	5
Hungary	K1-K3; 1-12	K1-K3, 1-10	1-10	5
Japan	K, 1-12	1-9	1-9	6

Notes: K = Kindergarten (in countries which do have instructional time in Kindergarten or in pre-primary classes, we took this time into account, when more than 85% of all children in this country attend these institutions)
M = École Maternelle (pre-primary school in France)
I, SI = Junior infant, Senior infant (pre-primary school in Ireland)
* in primary schools 5 days per week and in secondary schools normally the first and the third Saturday of a month
** in primary schools normally 5-days per week, in secondary schools 5 or 6 days possible (in upper secondary schools only 6 days per week)

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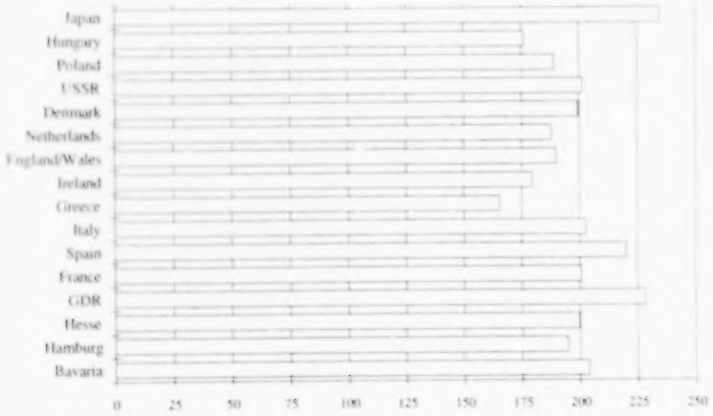
The first variation (maximum) includes pre-primary schools. We took pre-primary schools into account, when in the respective country more than 85% of the children attend these schools and when instructional time is comparable to the primary schools. The maximum variation also covers primary schools and secondary schools until the end of upper secondary level of general education. The Minimum 1 variation comprises obligatory pre-primary schools, primary schools and secondary schools. Finally, the minimum 2 variation only covers the period of compulsory schooling.

One question arising from the empirical material can be: how long is a school year in the different countries?

This seemingly easy question can be answered in different ways. One way is to define a school year as the number of days pupils are attenting school. In the following diagram the average of school days per year can be seen.

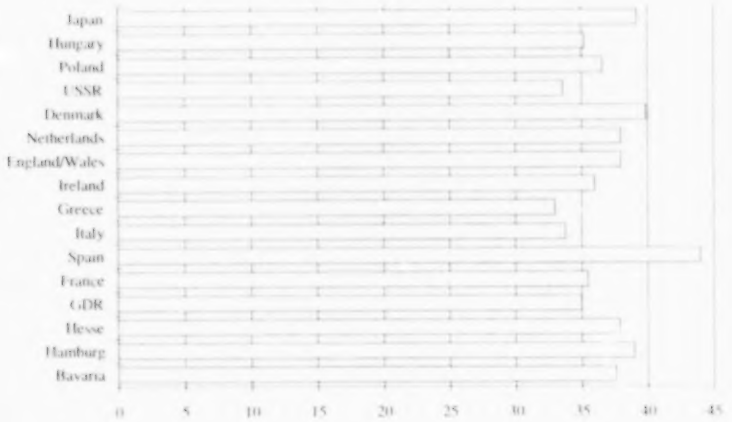
Diagram 1: Tendencies of numbers of school days (average, maximum variation) per school year



With this definition of a school year, the Japanese and the German Democratic Republic students have/had the longest, wheras students in Greece and Hungary have the shortest school year.

Another form of defining a school year is to count the school weeks per year. In such a global study this is only possible by the means and averages of the basic sources. The following diagram shows the average of the number of school days per year.

Diagram 2: Tendencies of the average of school weeks per school year (average, maximum variation)



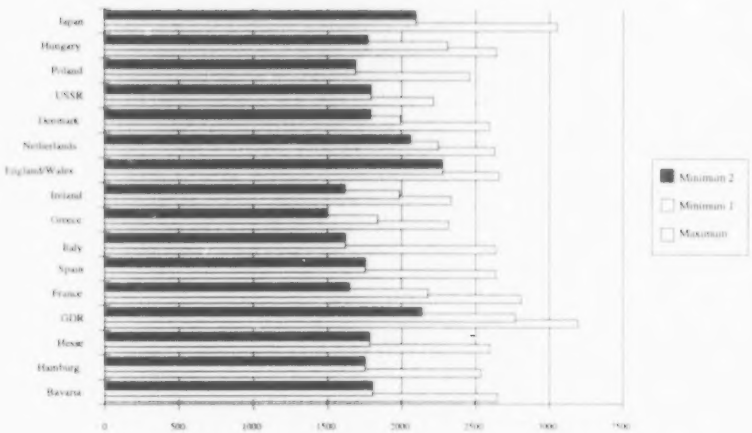
In this interpretation of a school year, the pupils in Spain (and also Denmark) have the longest school year, the pupils in Greece and in the USSR the shortest.

Imagine the 'subjective' definition of a school year from the view of 'lazy' students before their vacation: some weeks before the vacation begins, they start to count the weeks, one week before the school year ends, they count the days.

This digression shows that the simple question: "How long is a school year?" contains different answers with different effects on a 'theoretical' rating scale.

Therefore the numbers of school days in the following diagram are presented just to give a survey of how many days the pupils go to school during their school life.

Diagram 3: Tendencies of numbers of school days with instructional time through the whole school system



Here differences can be seen between the number of school days and instructional time across the countries in three variations. The greatest number of school days in the maximum variation was found in the German Democratic Republic with nearly 3.200 days (6-day-week and 14 years). With 2.216 days, the USSR had the smallest number of school days. The time of compulsory education (minimum 2) showed a difference between Greece (1.500 school days in 9 years) and England/Wales (more than 2.200 school days in 12 years).

To find out how much time (in hours) children spend at school, we have to look at the next diagram. It presents the trend (in hours) that pupils spend in "time for school" throughout the various school systems. For comparison, we defined three main indicators: instructional time, time in school and school-related time.

Instructional Time (IT) includes time for examinations, oral and written tests, practical courses and student projects.

Time in School (TIS) includes instructional time plus breaks, child care and/or lunch.

School-related Time (ST) includes time in school plus the way to and from school, homework, remedial teaching and/or private tuition.

Diagram 4: Tendencies of instructional time, time in school and school-related time (in hours of 60 minutes) – maximum variation

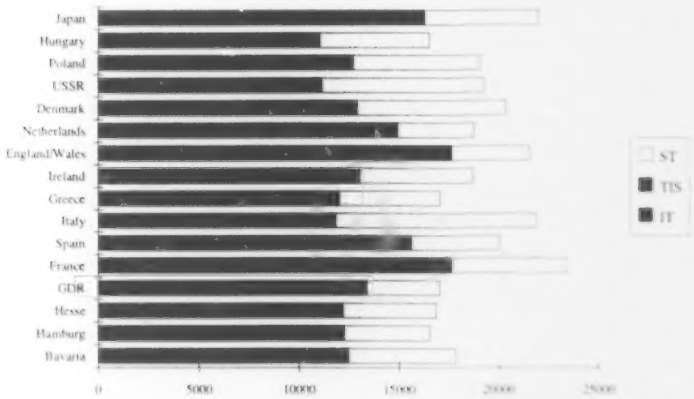


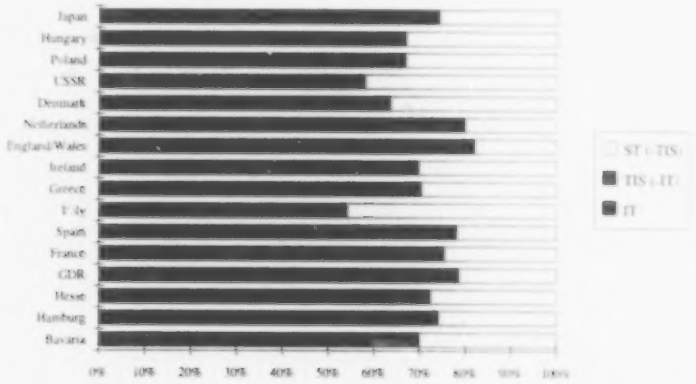
Diagram 4 shows that there are some large differences in the tendencies of instructional time between the countries. Pupils in the USSR and Hungary have the least, pupils in the Netherlands and in Spain have the greatest amount of instructional time. Instructional Time includes time for instruction and also time for examinations[1], tests, practical courses and special student projects within the 'normal' school year. The difference between the USSR and Spain is more than 4.800 hours, which represent nearly 50% of the total amount of instructional time in the USSR. In the schools themselves, the difference might not be as big as described here, as, for example, the proportion of instructional time lost in Spain cannot be determined exactly, but this empirical problem applies to nearly all countries except Ireland.

1 In some countries there are special time-periods for examinations, in other countries the examinations are components of the lessons.

'Time in School' is an indicator which includes instructional time, breaks, child care and/or lunch. Here the differences between countries with 'half-day school systems' and 'all-day systems' become most obvious. Japan, England/Wales and France – all countries with an all-day school system – have the greatest amount of 'time in school' and, in comparison with instructional time, the highest ratio. In countries with half-day school systems, we find a relatively high proportion of non-instructional time in school only in Denmark and in the German Democratic Republic. In Italy the pupils have a very low share of 'time in school' as compared with instructional time, because, in the official Italian regulations, the time allowed for breaks is very low.

The tendencies of School-related Time indicate the total time spent in connection with schooling – including the travelling time, homework, remedial teaching and, in some countries, also private tuition. Here we found out that, apart from the pupils in countries with all-day school systems (Japan, England/Wales and France), children in Italy, Denmark and Greece have a lot of school-related time too. The relationship between instructional time, time in school and school-related time in the maximum-variation is presented in the following diagram.

Diagram 5: Composition of instructional time, time in school and school-related time in % – maximum variation



It become obvious that the amount of instructional time is relatively high in the Netherlands, Spain, German Democratic Republic and the three West German States (more than 60%). In contrast, the proportion of instructional time as compared with school-related time is very low in the USSR (about 40%), Poland, Denmark, Italy and France (about 40%).

But it should clearly be stated here that the white part of the diagram covers different aspects. The high proportion in the USSR, for example, reflects the greatest amount of homework found in our study. In Italy the high proportion results from the very low share of breaks and a relativly high share of homework.

In Denmark, this unfavourable proportion of instructional time comprises a lot of publicly-provided, additional 'instructional time' attended on a voluntary basis after the normal school day. Contrarily, the blank area for Greece can be accounted for by both a large amount of private tuition and homework.

Andrea Mertens
Dirk Randoll

Immigrant Children and Special Education: The Situation in Germany

Summary:

The article is a combination of two contributions presented in the workshop "Immigrant Children and Special Education". It concerns the state and the problems of transfer practices associated with immigrant children in schools for special education in the Federal Republic of Germany. Incorrect educational assignment as a result of insufficient preventive as well as diagnostic measures not only reduces the educational and professional opportunities of these children but also restricts their participation in social processes and society in general. These problems will be demonstrated with reference to schools for language and learning disabled children. Possible solutions will be proposed.

Ausländerkinder und Sonderschule: Die Situation in Deutschland

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel beinhaltet die Zusammenschau zweier Beiträge vorgetragen im Workshop "Immigrantenkinder und Sonderschulerziehung". Er behandelt die Situation und die Überweisungsproblematik ausländischer Kinder im Sonderschulbereich der BRD. So ist zum Beispiel der Anteil ausländischer Kinder in den Sonderschulen für Lernbehinderte überproportional hoch. Aus Fehlzuweisungen infolge unzureichender präventiver Maßnahmen und diagnostischer Möglichkeiten ergibt sich für diese Kinder die Gefahr geringerer Bildungs- und Berufschancen, wodurch ihre Teilhabe am gesamtgesellschaftlichen Geschehen wesentlich beeinträchtigt wird. Die Problematik wird am Beispiel der Sonderschule für Sprach- und Lernbehinderte deutlich gemacht. Lösungsmöglichkeiten werden erörtert.

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1. Introduction

It has long been recognised that misdiagnosis is one of the major dangers in dealing with children from different language and cultural backgrounds, who usually have limited proficiency in the language of their host country. The children may be incorrectly identified as disabled, merely because they are linguistically or culturally different – or the reverse, children with a real handicap may be ignored in the belief that the only difficulty is their insufficient knowledge of the second language. These issues are not only relevant for Germany. They occur in all countries and school systems where immigrant children and children of language minorities are educated (ELDERING/KLOPROGGE 1989).

This article describes the situation in former West Germany. Unfortunately, no information can be presented concerning the five new federal states of Germany. On the whole, one can say that the topic, so far, is of minor importance as only a few immigrant children live there.

To start with, the article presents an overview of the number of immigrant children of the most prevalent nationalities living in Germany. This will be followed by a short description of the organisation of the German special education system and the legal aspects regulating the transfer practices and admission to schools of special education. Apects of integration as well as the main demands that should be met in the diagnosis of children with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds are discussed on a general basis. The problem is further specified by a more detailed description of the situation of immigrant children in schools for learning and language disabled. Definitions and diagnostic criteria to detect language and learning disabilities of these children are considered in the light of the legal norms that influence the diagnostic process and of their relevance to the solution of the problem.

2 Immigrant children in schools for special education

2.1 Immigrant children in Germany

According to the Federal Department of Statistics in 1990, 5.241.800 foreigners were living in Germany. Of the total population of about 63.5 million (58.277.258 of German nationality and 5.241.800 of non-German nationality) this adds up to 8.3%. Nearly one fifth (1.019.200) of the foreigners were under the age of 15.

Table 1: Immigrant children under the age of 15 subdivided into categories of the major nationalities present in Germany in 1990

Country of Origin	Number	%
Turkey	464.300	45.6
Yugoslavia	115.200	11.3
Italy	98.900	9.7
"East Europe"[a]	61.400	6.0
Greece	48.900	4.8
Morocco	22.800	2.2
Iran	16.800	1.6
Spain	15.100	1.5
Portugal	12.400	1.2

[a] Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary

Source: Federal Department of Statistics

Table 1 shows the number of immigrant children under the age of 15 subdivided into categories of the major nationalities living in Germany in 1990. Unfortunately, so far, the corresponding statistic for the German children was not available. The term "immigrant children" is used as a generic term for all foreign children, although the parents of these children do not obtain the classical immigration status like, for example, immigrants in the USA. As one can see, the majority of the children, or rather their parents, come from European countries, most of them from Turkey, Yugoslavia and Italy. Mainly, they are foreign workers, so-called guest workers, living in Germany in the second or third generation, although, in recent years, there is an increase of immigrants of German origin mainly from the former Soviet Union as well as of political refugees.

2.2 The special education system in Germany

2.2.1 Different schools for special education and number of pupils

The German special education system consists of different forms of schools which are named according to different types of disability. There are schools for the blind, the deaf, the hearing disabled, the language disabled, the physically handicapped, the learning disabled, schools for children with behavioural problems, for mentally retarded children, for

diseased children, and last but not least classes for multiply handicapped children who are educated at home.

Usually all schools are separate, independent units, which means that children attending these schools are educated together with children sharing the same disability, while at the same time they are segregated spacially and socially from "non-disabled" children attending regular schools. In some cases there are so-called non-independent units for special education, which are classes for disabled children in the regular schools. Descriptions of the different disabilites as well as the organisational framework of the transfer process to the different schools are laid down in the German school law.

Table 2: Number of special education institutions (special education schools and special education classes at regular schools) subdivided according to the different disabilities (1980-1990)

	1980	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
schools	2.800	2.733	2.719	2.710	2.690	2.691	2.666
other institutions	2.976	2.992	2.995	3.049	3.061	3.055	3.067
of these for:							
– learning disabled	1.685	1.583	1.546	1.520	1.509	1.477	1.466
– other disabilities	1.291	1.409	1.449	1.529	1.552	1.578	1.601
of these:							
– blind	15	17	16	15	19	19	18
– visually handicapped	31	30	30	29	28	28	29
– deaf	36	32	32	32	32	31	31
– hearing disabled	49	51	47	48	50	50	49
– language disabled	165	199	211	217	220	219	221
– physically handicapped	124	125	117	122	131	121	129
– mentally retarded	541	544	538	531	529	529	528
– children with behavioural problems	178	172	166	167	160	162	169
– diseased children	76	103	110	138	134	132	139
– multiply handicapped children educated at home	76	136	182	230	249	287	288

Source: Statistics published by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Educational and Cultural Affairs

Table 2 shows the number of special education schools which are separate units and the total number of special education schools and regular schools with special education classes. These are followed by the institu-

tions grouped according to the different types of disability. As one can see, the number of schools is declining over the years, whereas the number of institutions as such is increasing, showing that today more disabled children are educated in special education classes in regular schools as compared to the beginning of the eighties. The table also shows differences in the number of institutions for the different types of disability – for example there are about 1.500 institutions for learning disabled children but only about 30 for visually handicapped or deaf children.

Some schools like the schools for the language disabled teach the children according to the framework curricula and provide the regular school leaving certificate for short course secondary schools (Hauptschulabschluß) and for intermediate schools (Realschulabschluß). Pupils who stay in schools for learning disabled and mentally retarded through the end of the regular school time only obtain their special education qualification (Sonderschulabschluß), further reducing educational and professional opportunities.

2.2.2 Aspects of integration

A special education system like the German one is based on two assumptions:

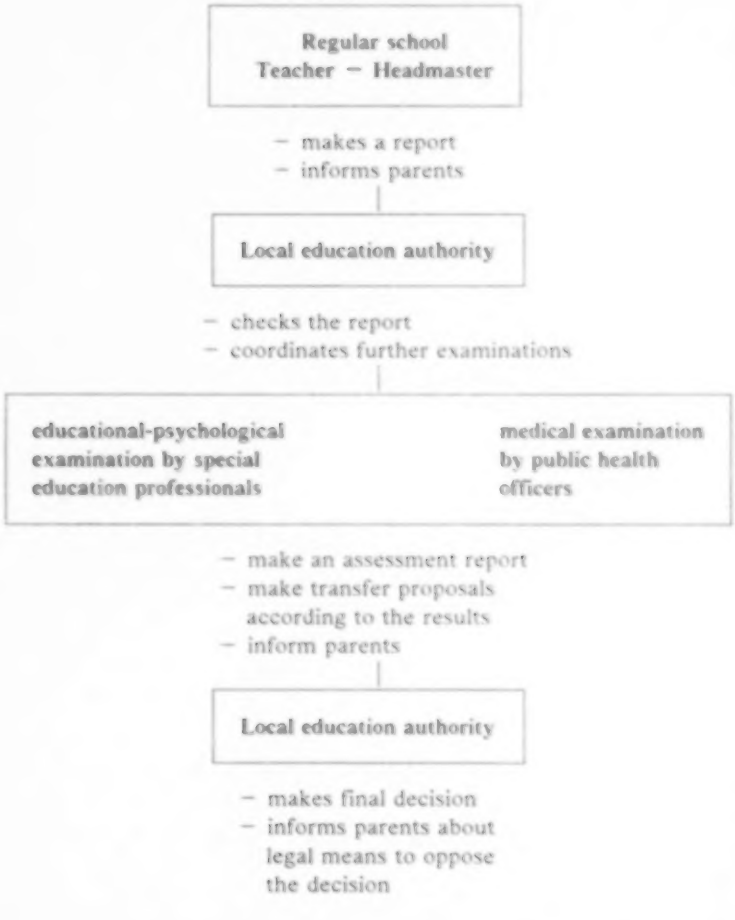
- There are valid characteristics for different disabilities which can be diagnosed reliably in an assessment process.
- Separating children classified as disabled from the non-disabled children of the same age is regarded as the best way of treating and teaching these children.

For a couple of years now, these assumptions have no longer been taken for granted. They have been criticised for a long time by scientists working in the field of special education (e.g. KAUTTER 1975; KAUTTER/MUNZ 1974; KORNMANN 1974, 1977; KORNMANN/MEISTER/SCHLEE 1983; NEUMANN 1976) as well as by the public media and the parents of the handicapped children (e.g. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU 1989a, 1989b). As response to the protests against the segregation of disabled children a couple of integration projects were undertaken by the federal states' governments. In some projects for example, disabled children are taught in regular schools together with non-disabled children, with the permission of their parents, but receive additional lessons by a special education professional. This alternative way of treating

disabled children is far from being the rule and still faces many financial and organisational problems.

2.2.3 Organisational framework of the transfer process

Diagram 1: Diagram of the organisational framework of the transfer process to a special education school


Regular school
Teacher – Headmaster
– makes a report
– informs parents
Local education authority
– checks the report
– coordinates further examinations
educational-psychological examination by special education professionals
medical examination by public health officers
– make an assessment report
– make transfer proposals according to the results
– inform parents
Local education authority
– makes final decision
– informs parents about legal means to oppose the decision

A child who has or seems to have a certain handicap is proposed for assessment by his or her parents, on the advice of an institution, like a hospital or a kindergarten, or by the teacher and the headmaster of the regular school he or she is attending. The majority of the learning disabled and language disabled children are proposed for assessment by the regular schools. In this case the teacher has to present the pupil to the headmaster who has to form his/her own impression. If the headmaster comes to the same conclusion as the teacher the child's parents have to be informed and a report has to be sent to the local education authority.

At the beginning of every year the local education authorities check all the reports and delegate the children to the respective special education schools for assessment. The assessment procedure consits of a educational-psychological examination by a special education teacher and a medical examination by a public health officer. If the parents do not agree with the assessment proposed by the regular school, a psychologist of the local education authority has to examine the child. After the assessment the parents and the local education authority have to be informed about the results of the preliminary diagnostic decision. On the basis of the assessment report the local education authority decides whether the child is to be transferred to the special education school or can remain in the regular school. The parents have the right to take legal action against this decision.

2.3 Special problems and requirements in the assessment of immigrant children

As one can imagine it is not an easy task to assess children from different language and cultural backgrounds who usually have a limited proficiency in the language of the host country. The children may be incorrectly identified as language or learning disabled or mentally retarded, merely because they are linguistically or culturally different. The other direction in which educators and diagnosticians may err is failing to identify those children who are indeed disabled and in need of special education services, because it is assumed that the student's only difficulty is his or her insufficient knowledge of the language.

As stated in the special educational literature (e.g. ABELE 1988; ABENDROTH/KÖHLER 1986; AKADEMIE für LEHRERFORTBILDUNG 1982; IHSSEN 1980; KORNMANN 1987; HESSISCHES KULTUSMINISTERIUM 1989; MOOG 1981; SCHNORR 1976a und 1976b;

ZELLERHOFF 1989) an appropriate identification of bilingual/bicultural children requires:

- the use of appropriate personnel in the assessment process;
- the use of appropriate assessment instruments.

Ideally, the child should be assessed in both languages by a bilingual/bicultural special-education professional or by two professionals, one from each culture who have an understanding of the specific bilingual/bicultural situation of the child and its socio-cultural background. If those professionals are not available, assistance should at least be given by interpreters who are familiar with the problem and the assessment procedure.

Ideally, the norms of the instruments should be based on the population for which it is intended, in this case on the populations of the different groups of immigrant children. The tests should not contain culturally biased items or provoke culturally biased behaviour. Even the so-called culture fair tests which consist mainly of figurative tasks may be biased (TASCHINSKI 1985; GUTHKE/AL-ZOUBI 1987; FRIEDRICH/MÜLLER 1987), because most of the immigrant children come from an educational background which did not allow them to gain experience with figurative material through the use of certain toys or games. As adequate instruments are difficult to construct and are still lacking in many areas, special emphasis in the diagnosis of immigrant children should be placed on observing the child in natural settings as well as on biographical data.

How far these requirements are fulfilled will now be exemplified by the description of the situation of immigrant children in schools for language disabled and for learning disabled.

3 Immigrant children in schools for language disabled

3.1 Comparative statistics of the number of immigrant and German children in schools for language disabled

Table 3 shows the number of German children in comparison to children of other nationalities in the seven schools for language disabled children in the federal state of Hesse for the terms 1983/84 to 1990/91. Only those nationalities most frequently represented in Hesse are shown. Unfortunately, no statistics are available for the whole of Germany.

Table 3: Children at schools for the language disabled in Hesse from the school term 1983/84 through the school term 1990/91

school term	ger	greek	ital	yugo	span	turk	moroc[a]
83/84	883	2	17	19	3	34	4
84/85	867	0	18	18	5	47	5
85/86	853	0	22	15	7	43	9
86/87	827	0	19	16	6	49	10
87/88	817	0	21	15	5	59	11
88/89	784	2	28	18	7	61	10
89/90	810	3	31	17	6	62	22
90/91	850	4	40	17	7	64	22
			percentage				
83/84	.14	.05	.19	.21	.07	.12	.18
84/85	.14	0	.21	.19	.13	.17	.20
85/86	.15	0	.26	.16	.19	.16	.29
86/87	.16	0	.22	.16	.17	.18	.26
87/88	.16	0	.24	.14	.15	.21	.25
88/89	.16	.05	.32	.18	.22	.21	.19
89/90	.16	.08	.35	.15	.21	.20	.39
90/91	.17	.10	.45	.16	.26	.20	.38

[a] ger: German children. greek: Greek children. ital: Italian children. yugo: Yugoslavian children. span: Spanish children. turk: Turkish children. moroc: Moroccan children.

Sources: Statistical Department of Hesse and own calculations.

Although we recognise differences in the proportion of the various nationalities, the proportion of less than 0.5% German as well as immigrant children is quite small as compared to that reported for learning disabled children. Concerning the variation over time, the increases in the proportion of most of the immigrant children are steeper than the increase in the proportion of the German children. This is probably attributable to the fact that, as compared to the beginning of the eighties, nowadays there is a greater awareness of the language problems facing immigrant children.

Judging by the official statistics the problem of over-representation concerning language disabled immigrant children does not seem to exist. Nevertheless, it is important for the respective diagnostician to ascertain whether the phonological and/or syntactical deviations found in the speech of immigrant children with a limited knowledge of German are in-

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dicative of a real language disorder or whether they are attributable to ordinary deviations occurring during the acquisition processes of the second language.

3.2 Some critical aspects of the assessment procedure

To obtain more detailed information about language disorders of immigrant children and the respective assessment procedures, the assessment reports of the educational-psychological examination of Turkish and German children were analysed[1]. On the whole, the results of Turkish and German children did not differ greatly. Without going into further details of the research some of the provisional findings with special consideration of the critical aspects in the assessment procedure of immigrant children will be discussed. To a large degree the reports showed that the administrative regulations laid down in the school law of Hesse are observed in the assessment process. Interesting parallels with results of two American studies exist (LANGDON 1989; ORTIZ/GARCIA/WHEELER/MALDONADO-COLON 1986).

The administrative regulations for the assessment of language disability demand a broad assessment considering factors like mental and social development, motor skills as well as the availability of other extramural supportive possibilites as the transfer to a special education institution for the language disabled cannot be justified solely by a single language disorder. During the assessment one also has to make sure that the language disorder is the main disability and not the result of a primary hearing or learning disability or mental retardation. If severe hearing problems are noticed during the communication process, the child is transferred to a medical doctor or a specialist at a school for the hearing disabled for further assessment. In case of learning disability and mental retardation the child is transferred for further diagnosis to a school for the learning disabled or mentally retarded. As a first check of the mental and academic capacities a non-verbal intelligence test is usually employed. In some cases the Draw-a-Man-Test, School Readiness Inventories and informal school tests are employed. One should keep in mind that non-verbal intelligence tests, which might be an appropriate instrument for language disabled na-

1 The analysis is part of a larger research project concerning criteria for the diagnosis of language disabilty of immigrant children being conducted by A. Mertens.

tive speakers, can be biased in case of immigrant children as was already mentioned.

Concerning the assessment of language disabilty in immigrant children no specific regulations are formulated in the school law. At least, some of the regulations for the assessment of learning disability can be also applied in the assessment of language disabilties, such as the presence of a mother tongue teacher during the assessment process and the statement that "Insufficient knowledge of the German language is not a criterion for the need of special education". Nevertheless, these demands are quite vague and lack concrete specifications for their realisation.

The duration of the assessment is usually limited to two or three hours on a single day. The limited time the diagnosticians have at their disposal for the assessment – a shortcoming mentioned by many special educationists – probably forces them to concentrate on those variables which can be assessed most quickly and definitely with the available testing procedures. Such a time-restricted assessment provides little information about the child's biographical background as well as hardly any observations of the child in other settings. However, assessment in natural settings as well as information about the child's living conditions and detailed exploratory interviews with the child's parents or legal guardians are especially important in the case of diagnosing immigrant children since only using tests is very problematic.

Another important diagnostic sign in the assessment of immigrant children is the occurrence of the disability in the child's mother tongue. Information on the language proficiency of the child's mother tongue is partly gained through statements by the parents about the child's language development in comparison to his or her brothers or sisters, partly through information provided by the mother tongue teacher present during the assessment. Although the presence of these teachers is considered helpful by many special educationists, their legal position is still indefinite and their range of competence quite limited. Officially, they function as interpreters. In most cases they have no training in special education. Test materials in the mother tongues are usually missing. The further qualification of these teachers as diagnosticians and counselors for the parents has been demanded for a long time but has only been realized to a limited extent.

4 Immigrant children in schools for learning disabled

4.1 Definition of learning disability

In order to understand the problem of the education of immigrant children in special schools for the learning disabled, it is important to know how learning disability is defined in the Federal Republic of Germany. In general we talk about a learning disability

1. if the low performance of a child in a regular school is extensive, serious and persistent;
2. if the performance and the behavior of a child in school deviates from the norm (i.e. IQ below 85);
3. if the learning problem or the poor school achievement of a child cannot be improved in the regular school (e.g. BLEIDICK 1977; KANTER 1980).

We don't talk of a learning disability if the learning problem is based on sensory or physical handicaps or if the problem only exists in a specific learning area (e.g. arithmetics; writing or reading). Apart from this, in case of children, whose nationality is other than German, insufficient knowledge of the German language is not by law a criterion for diagnosing a child as learning disabled (but this does rarely correspond to the actual practice). All criteria mentioned are vague and must be seen in relation to the conditions of the school system found in the FRG. Thus we also talk about a learning disability if a child attends a school for the learning disabled (e.g. BLEIDICK 1977).

If a child is recommended for a special school an expert assessment must be compiled by a special education teacher in co-operation with a psychologist and/or a paediatrician. This expert report contains: 1. anamnestic data of the child; 2. test results on the school achievement (reading, writing and mathematics) as well as on the IQ and sensory abilities of a child; 3. observations of the social and working behavior of a child in the special class. The local education authority decides together with the parents whether a child should be educated in a special school or not. For immigrant children a mother tongue teacher must act as a consultant for the parents. But usually, as already mentioned, this teacher is an ordinary teacher with little knowledge of special educational needs.

4.2 Statistics of children in schools for the learning disabled

Table 4: Number of immigrant and German children having a (learning) disability in the school year of 1989/90

	Disabled children	Learning disabled children	(%)
immigrants	44.569	30.274	(67.9)
Germans	207.136	102.828	(49.6)
total	251.705	133.102	(52.8)

According to the report of the "Kultusministerkonferenz" published in 1991, 251.705 children were educated in special schools in the Western part of Germany during the school year 1989/90 which is about 4% of all school going children. 53% of the disabled children were regarded as learning disabled. 22% of all disabled children were immigrant children as compared to 30% immigrant children of all learning disabled. The percentage of children with a learning disability as compared to children with other disabilities is about 50% for German children and 68% for the immigrant children. This means that 50% of all German children with a disability are called learning disabled. The amount of immigrant children in a special school for learning disabled about 30%-40% compared to 20%-30% in regular schools depends on the school as well as on local conditions. We can conclude therefore, that immigrant children – in the federal state of Hesse especially Italians, Moroccans and Turks – with a learning disability are overrepresented in the special schools for learning disabled.

4.3 Reasons for the problems

Although the problem of immigrant children with a learning disability is of importance in the research literature only very few ideas to change this situation are put forward. The definition of learning disability is still based on criteria which are not operationalised very well and they are relative in certain ways; one has the impression that being diagnosed as learning disabled merely depends on the opportunities regular schools have to give children with learning problems sufficient adequate educational support. If the regular school is not able to provide additional training for the poor learners (e.g. because of financial reasons), it is quite easy for them to solve this problem by asking these learners to be transferred

to a special school for their education. The assessment procedure for the learning disabled is conducted on the basis of tests which are mostly standardised on German populations. This is true for IQ-tests as well as for school-achievement tests. If an immigrant child does not match the norms he/she will be treated as having failed the test. There are no culture-fair tests for evaluating school achievement, the IQ-test which is mostly used is the HAWIK-R-Test, a German test.

The main problems concerning immigrant learning-disabled children are their proficiency language as well as social background (e.g. KLEIN 1973). We know that 70%-80% of all learning disabled children come from families who belong to underprivileged groups of society who have far more than the average number of children. We also know that most of the immigrant families belong to this group of society. This means that most of the immigrant children do not receive sufficient support by their parents with respect to their education. Most of the immigrant families cannot cope with the high standards which are demanded by the German schools. They have problems with understanding the school system as well as the curriculum. As long as there are special schools and as long as the assessment procedure used to clarify whether a child has a learning disability is not improved and matched to individual cultural conditions, it seems too easy for the regular schools to label those children with a learning problem as learning disabled who are not able to cope with the learning demands of the regular school, and to initiate an evaluation.

Teachers in regular classes must learn to understand what multicultural teaching means and how to teach immigrant children. They must learn about the culture and the individual conditions determining the learning problem of an immigrant child. Thus, the education of ordinary teachers needs to be improved. Furthermore, we need more classes with mother tongue teachers in order to teach immigrant children in their own language as well as in the context of their own culture. We also need better tests for the immigrant children in order to be able to differentiate between learning problems and language or socio-cultural problems. Furthermore more efforts have to be undertaken to prevent learning disabilities. In some cities, there is already the so-called school-social-work which means that social workers take care of underpriviledged children after school.

5. Final remarks

Reflecting what has been reported so far, there are three main questions resulting from the subject, which are worth discussing in an international context:

- How can we improve the present procedures so as to distinguish more appropriately between pathological deviancies which need special treatment and deviancies resulting from the different, non-standard behavior of people with different cultural backgrounds living under immigrant conditions?
- Does it make sense to educate disabled children separately from non-disabled children? Does it even make sense to use terms like 'disability', 'deviancy', or 'disorders' to classify those children? This question does not only specifically concern disabled immigrant children but also so-called disabled people in general.
- Should the trend in our educational system go towards a multi-facetted society encouraging individuality demanding more openness and tolerance or should we adhere to a more uniform, homogeneous society encouraging security, demanding assimilation? This is probably the most important question as it reminds us to reflect on how to deal with deviant, non-standard behavior, which is part of our reality whether we admit it or not.

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Dirk Randoll

Effects of Mainstreaming in Schools: Results from Empirical Studies in Two European Countries

Summary:

The article reports the results of an empirical study of the effects of mainstreaming of learning-disabled children with respect to social, achievement-motivational, and emotional processes of integration both from the standpoint of students and teachers. The results both of the cross-section and the longtudinal-section surveys on the whole match the results of the INTSEP group of HAEBERLIN and others. However, they demonstrate that the results not achieved by the mainstreaming measures apply to both learning disabled and specific selected samples of "non-disabled".

Auswirkungen der Integration behinderter Schüler in die Regelschule: Ergebnisse einer empirischen Untersuchung in zwei europäischen Ländern

Zusammenfassung:

Berichtet wird über die Ergebnisse einer empirischen Untersuchung zu den Wirkungen der integrativen Beschulung Lernbehinderter im Hinblick auf soziale, leistungsmotivationale und emotionale Integrationsprozesse aus Schüler- und Lehrersicht. Die aus den Quer- und Längsschnitterhebungen resultierenden Befunde entsprechen im wesentlichen den Ergebnissen der INTSEP-Gruppe um HAEBERLIN, doch weisen sie auch darauf hin, daß ausgebliebene Effekte der integrativen Maßnahmen nicht nur für Lernbehinderte, sondern auch für spezifische Teilstichproben "Nichtbehinderter" zutreffen.

1. Introduction

The special-school system in the Federal Republic of Germany has a long tradition and its effectiveness is highly valued within the educational system. For this reason, the joint education of disabled and non-disabled children in schools is still limited to a small sample of children needing special educational help. In 1991 approximately 195 integrative classes existed in primary schools and at secondary I level (1st to 10th grade) as compared to 25.000 classes in special schools. The major objection against the implementation of integrative classes by school authorities is based on the argument, that until now the experiences gained by existing integrative school trials don't suffice to justify changing the traditional special educational practice. In fact, there are only very few empirical studies in the German speaking countries dealing with the effects of integration in schools. The most extensive empirical research study was conducted in Switzerland by HAEBERLIN (1991) and his colleagues focusing on children with learning disabilities. Their results show that for the learning disabled special education is much better than integrative education. The only remarkable advantage of integration into regular schools concerned the highly significantly better progress in reading, writing and mathematics of learning-disabled children in integrative classes. These results were criticised and attacked by proponents of the idea of integration in Germany who argued that they cannot be transmitted and generalised to the conditions found in Germany. In order to determine whether the results found in Switzerland are also true for German classes, we started our own research project in 1990. The study aimed at examining the effects of integration of learning disabled children in the fourth grade of school on three dimensions of integration: social integration, achievement-motivational integration and emotional integration. To make a comparison with the results of HAEBERLIN (1991) possible, we used the same research instruments, but we also developed other instruments and modified the research design in order to obtain more detailed and background information about the observable effects (see Figure 1). We attempted comparisons within and between systems as well as comparisons of factors inherent in the system which we call intra-, inter- and system-immanent comparisons.

The purpose of the intra-system comparison is to find out, which of the organisational forms of the integrative procedure is best for the integration of the learning disabled. In this study, three types of integrative teaching procedures were distinguished: 1. classes with permanent team-teaching (a regular teacher together with a special teacher); 2. classes in which

Figure 1: Overview of the research design

Inter-system comparisons	
Learning disabled (LD) in integrative classes (4th grade; N = 28)	LD in special schools (longitudinal study) (5th grade; N = 8) LD in special schools (Switzerland)
System-immanent comparisons	
LD in integrative classes (N = 28) non-disabled but disturbed children in integrative classes (children with moderate learning problems N = 14; children with emotional problems N = 21)	non-disabled classmates (N = 283) non-disabled classmates (N = 248)
LD in integrative classes	non-disabled but disturbed children (N = 14; N = 21)
self-evaluations of the LD in integrative classes	teacher-evaluations of the LD (N = 20) and the non-disabled children (N = 52)
non-disabled but disturbed children in intergrative classes	teacher-evaluations of the disturbed children (children with moderate learning problems N = 3; children with emotional problems N = 8)
self-evaluations of the LD in integrative classes (questionnaire)	their statements in the interviews
Intra-system comparisons	
classes with permanent team teaching	classes with additional training of the LD outside the class in the class

the learning disabled child receives additional instruction by a special teacher within the class for 6-8 hours per week; 3. classes, in which the learning disabled child receives additional instruction by a special teacher outside the class for 6-8 hours per week.

The purpose of the inter-system comparison is to identify the specific effects of different school models. Therefore, we compared the traditional special-school with the new integrative-school model. This comprised a cross-sectual as well as a longitudinal comparison.

The purpose of the system-immanent comparison is to determine whether the effects of the new school system correspond its intentions. In this study we compared learning disabled children with their non-disabled classmates as well as with non-disabled classmates having emotional problems or having moderate learning problems.

2. Methods

The following research instruments were used:

1. The FDI 4-6 ("Fragebogen zu Dimensionen der Integration") which was developed by HAEBERLIN in 1989. It is a questionnaire for children in the 4th to the 6th grade and comprises 45 items, 15 items each for the 3 dimensions of integration, with a 4-step response scaling. Both students and teachers were asked to complete the FDI. The teachers were requested to give individual judgements on the extent of integration for the learning disabled children as well as for a selected sample of non-disabled children.

2. BFL developed by JANOWSKI et al. in 1981. The BFL has 60 items and was to be answered by teachers indicating their individual assessment of the cognitive, social and working behaviour in school as well as the emotional resistance of learning disabled children and for a selected sample of non-disabled children.

3. In order to obtain more background and detailed information about the conditions determining the results of the questionnaires, we developed a half-structured interview which we conducted individually with the learning disabled as well as with the teachers (46 open and 27 specified questions).

3. Sample

Basically, there were 32 integrative classes with learning disabled children in the Federal Republic of Germany/West during the school year of 1990/91. Because of the resistance of parents, teachers and school authorities, only 17 classes in 14 schools all over Germany/West could be examined; furthermore, the comparison between special and integrative schools was not approved by the school authorities. Thus, the cross-sectional inter-system comparison had to be conducted between special classes in Switzerland and integrative classes in Germany which is for sure a problem.

The self evaluations of 311 students on the FDI 46 could be analysed. 283 students were non-disabled children and 28 were learning disabled; 21 of the non-disabled had emotional problems and 14 had moderate learning problems. In sum 248 non-disabled were without any problem.

Furthermore, we could analyse the teacher evaluations of 52 non-disabled and 19 learning disabled children on the FDI and the BFL. The individual interviews were conducted with 21 learning disabled and 20 teachers.

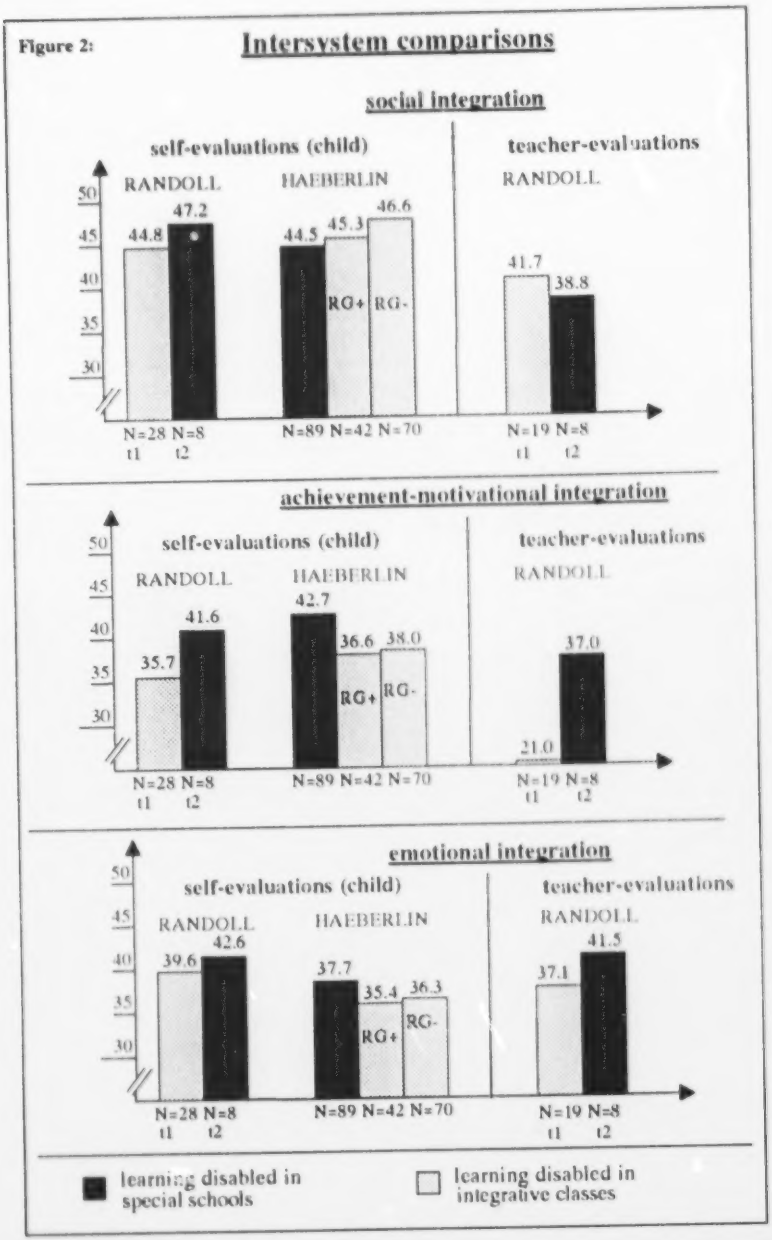
10 of the learning disabled children examined in the cross-sectional study in 1990/91 attended the 5th grade of a special school for learning disabled during the school year 1991/92; 8 of these children were examined again with the same research instruments. The same methods of obtaining teacher evaluations were used, but with different teachers. The longitudinal study focusses on the comparison between systems and gives an impression of the effects of the two different school systems on the degree of integration measured.

We carried out analyses of variances based on the FDI and BFL data gathered, and compared the mean values between the groups of children on the degree of integration on the basis of T-tests. The interviews were evaluated qualitatively.

4. Results

The results of the intra-system comparison show no correlation between the 3 kinds of integrative classes defined and the extent of the 3 dimensions of integration measured. Therefore it must be concluded, that

Figure 2:


Intersystem comparisons
social integration
self-evaluations (child)
teacher-evaluations
RANDOLL
HAEBERLIN
RANDOLL
50
45
40
35
30
44.8
47.2
44.5
45.3
46.6
41.7
38.8
RG+
RG-
N=28 N=8
t1 t2
N=89 N=42 N=70
N=19 N=8
t1 t2
achievement-motivational integration
self-evaluations (child)
teacher-evaluations
RANDOLL
HAEBERLIN
RANDOLL
35.7
41.6
42.7
36.6
38.0
21.0
37.0
RG+
RG-
N=28 N=8
t1 t2
N=89 N=42 N=70
N=19 N=8
t1 t2
emotional integration
self-evaluations (child)
teacher-evaluations
RANDOLL
HAEBERLIN
RANDOLL
39.6
42.6
37.7
35.4
36.3
37.1
41.5
RG+
RG-
N=28 N=8
t1 t2
N=89 N=42 N=70
N=19 N=8
t1 t2
learning disabled in special schools
learning disabled in integrative classes

the extent of the dimensions of integration measured depends on class-specific effects and not on a specific teaching procedure.

The results of the inter-system comparison show that there is only one significant difference between the two school systems (see Figure 2). Learning disabled in special classes have a highly significantly better concept of their own ability as compared to learning disabled in integrative classes. With respect to social and emotional integration only tendencies in favor of special education could be found. This is true for the cross-sectional study as well as for the longitudinal study.

The results of the interviews of learning disabled and their teachers in integrative classes (t1) and in the special school for learning disabled (t2) can be summarized as follows:

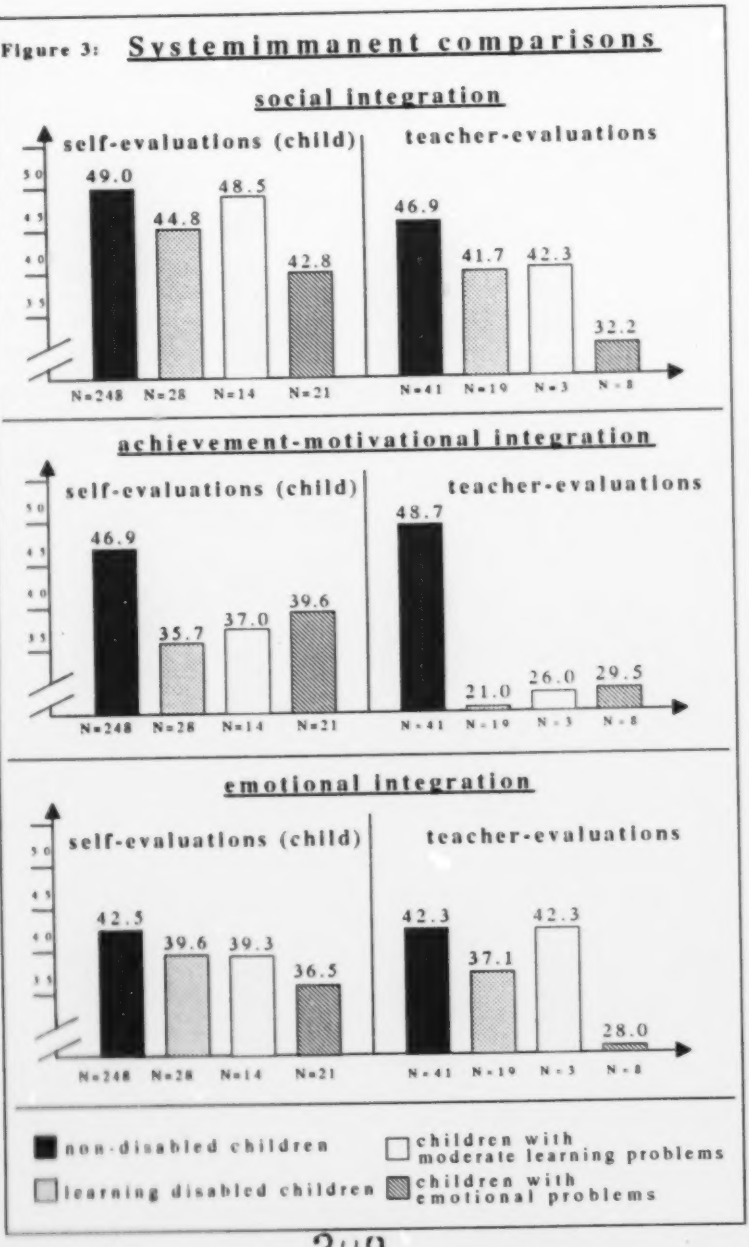
4.1 Social integration

Due to the statements made by both the children and the teachers we can conclude that most of the learning disabled children have friends in their class, they are invited to birthday parties by their classmates and they play together during school breaks. There is little evidence that learning disabled children are separated or rejected by their non-disabled classmates. If this is the case, the learning disability is accompanied by emotional problems of the disabled child (for example aggressiveness). At the same time, learning disabled children seem to suffer because of the negative climate and the frequent attacks by their classmates in the 5th grade of the special school. The teachers argued that the learning disabled children from integrative classes of a regular school miss the positive model of their non-disabled classmates which has negative consequences for their behaviour in general and for their learning behavior in particular.

4.2 Achievement-motivational integration

We could conclude from the interviews with the children that they seem to have a realistic view of their own abilities at school. Most of them do not show any negative reactions to their poor school-achievement, such as lacking motivation or refusing to learn at school. The statements made by the teachers are somewhat different. They show that 50% of the learning disabled children show negative reactions to their learning disability such as high aggressiveness or resignation when they cannot cope

Figure 3: **Systemimmanent comparisons**



with a learning task. All statements by both the children and the teachers show that the learning disabled children in integrative classes evaluate their school-achievement inter-individually, that is in comparison to their non-disabled classmates, and not intra-individually, that is in comparison to their own progress in learning. Learning disabled children in the 5th grade of the special school argued that learning is much easier than it was in the 4th grade of the regular school. But they also seem to anticipate the negative consequences of being educated in a special school, for example: one child told us that he would like to become a policemen but he knew that he will never get this job with a school-leaving certificate of a special school for the learning disabled.

4.3 Emotional integration

Learning disabled children in integrative classes feel emotionally well in their class, they like school, they like to learn at school and they enjoy being together with their classmates who are – most of the time – their neigbourhood friends as well. In the 5th grade of the special school most of the children feel discriminated against by their neigbourhood friends; only very few classmates come from the same residential area and are regarded as friends. Some teachers argued that the emotional integration at the special school is better for those children who show emotional problems and whose learning disability is more severe.

With respect to the system-immanent comparison learning disabled have a highly significantly lower estimation of their social and achievement-motivational integration than their non-disabled classmates. But this is not only typical for the learning disabled but also for non-disabled children with emotional problems or with moderate learning problems (see Figure 3).

With respect to the self evaluations of the children, non-disabled with emotional problems are the only group who feel emotionally desintegrated in class. The results of the teacher evaluations show that the emotional integration of the non-disabled with emotional problems as well as of the learning disabled is highly significantly lower than that of their non-disabled classmates.

5. Summary and Conclusions

1. The size of the sample we could examine in this study is very small and we must be cautious when generalising the effects we found. On the other hand, the results of this study are comparable to those found in Switzerland.
2. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was fruitful. We obtained a lot of interesting background information to help explain and relativise the quantitative results found in this study. We could conclude that every class and every child is basically unique and that the effects of integration measured depend on different individual conditions.
3. The main advantage of special education seems to be based on the self concept of the ability of students which is a reference-group effect.
4. The non-appearance of intended effects of integrative education in schools is not true for the learning disabled only but also for specific subgroups of non-disabled children. We think, that this result is very important for the discussion of the implementation of integrative education of disabled children!

Basically, we think that the question of the advisability of integrating disabled children in regular schools cannot be solved by empirical studies only. Both the regular and the special school systems can be justified empirically with respect to the stigma as well as to the reference group theory. Thus, integration can only be justified normatively. If we agree with the idea of integration, we should look for the conditions responsible for the effects of integration in order to improve the situation of the learning disabled in integrative classes.

From the results of this study and from the results of the study conducted by HAEBERLIN (1992), some conclusions for the organisation of integrative classes can be summarised:

1. The class size should not exceed 18 children.
2. In order to prevent the formation of sub-groups of disabled, not more than three disabled children should be educated in a class.
3. Team teaching (a regular teacher together with a special teacher) should be done permanently.
4. Learning disabled should receive special educational help within the class and should not be separated from their classmates for hours.

5. Teacher education must focus on integrative education; teachers must learn how to do team teaching and how to conduct internally differentiated classes.
6. Integration in schools must be voluntary for parents and teachers.
7. Parents must support the work of the teachers in school.
8. Integration should be possible in schools near home in order to guarantee social contacts between disabled and non-disabled after school.
9. The performance assessment of the students should be done individually and descriptively in order to show them their own progress in learning and in order to prevent inter-individual comparisons.

What we need for the future, is flexibility in the provision of special education for the disabled, allowing parents to decide whether their child should be educated in a regular or in a special school. But we are far from achieving this kind of practice because education in integrative classes is still limited to just a few federal states.

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Gerlind Schmidt

Ganztagsschule und Betreuung – neue Entwicklungen in einigen Ländern Europas

Zusammenfassung:

In den späten achtziger Jahren wurde das Thema Ganztagsbeschulung in nationaler und supranationaler europäischer Sicht diskutiert; dies trifft auch für diejenigen Länder zu, in denen der ganztägige Schulbesuch schon seit Jahrzehnten die Regel ist. Die folgenden Probleme müssen sowohl von Ländern mit Halb- als auch Ganztagsschulen gelöst werden: Infolge von Veränderungen im Familienleben und in den Familienstrukturen muß die Schule einen größeren Teil des Tages für die Betreuung von Kindern und Jugendlichen aufwenden. Die Länge und die Struktur des Schultags verändern sich als Ergebnis von Reformbemühungen, die darauf abzielen, Unterricht und Erziehung in der Schule, was die Ökonomie und/oder die pädagogischen Maßnahmen betrifft, effektiver zu gestalten. Die Lösungen in den untersuchten Ländern (Bundesrepublik Deutschland, England und Wales, Frankreich, Italien, Spanien, Dänemark und den Niederlanden) sind unterschiedlich, doch gibt es einige allgemeine Tendenzen, wie etwa: größere Flexibilität für die einzelne Familie oder die einzelnen Schulen, größere Partizipation auf der einzelschulischen Ebene, steigende Unkostenbeiträge für die Eltern.

Recent Trends in All-day Schooling and Child Care in Some European Countries

Summary:

In the late eighties, the issue of all-day schooling was discussed in national and supranational European perspective; this applies also to countries where all-day schooling has been the general form of schooling for decades. The following problems must be solved both by half- and all-day school countries: as family life and structures are changing, it becomes necessary that the schools allocate additional time of the day on the care of children and adolescents. Length and structure of the school day are changing as a result of reforms endeavouring to make instruction and education at school more effective in terms of economy and/or pedagogy. Solutions in the countries under investigation (Germany, England and Wales, France, Italy, Spain, Denmark and the Netherlands) differ, but there are several common trends, such as: more flexibility for the individual family or student, more participation at the individual-school level, rising school fees for parents.

1. Schulorganisation und Betreuungsbedarf

Das Thema Ganztagsschule ist in den Ländern Europas nach über zwanzigjähriger Pause wieder aktuell geworden. Auch Länder, in denen diese Schulform bereits seit langer Zeit etabliert ist, bilden keine Ausnahme mehr. In Arbeiten der europäischen Organisationen findet man Bezeichnungen wie „all day school", „école matin et après midi", in den einzelnen Ländern spricht man von „heldags-" oder „heltidsskole" (Dänemark), „scuola di tempo pieno" oder „prolungato" (so in Italien), und in Spanien von „jornada partida" oder „jornada completa". Die neuen begrifflichen Anstrengungen und die damit verbundenen konzeptionellen Überlegungen sind Antwort auf aktuelle Herausforderungen an die Schule, die von einem breiten Spektrum von bildungspolitischen Kräften artikuliert wurden, das in manchen Ländern von der Elternschaft bis zu privaten Wirtschaftsverbänden reicht.

In der Unterschiedlichkeit der Konzeptionen, Länge und Rhythmus des Schultages festzulegen und zu strukturieren, kommt die in letzter Zeit viel berufene Individualität der nationalen Schulsysteme Europas zum Ausdruck; sie spiegelt sich auch in einigen der erwähnten Bezeichnungen deutlich wider.

Diese Vielfalt von Konzeptionen soll im folgenden Beitrag unter komparatistischen Aspekten betrachtet werden, um einige Aussagen über Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede sowie über die Chancen und Widerstände bei eingeleiteten Veränderungen zu ermöglichen. Neben Studien und Daten aus dem Bereich der Europäischen Gemeinschaft (MOSS 1988, 1990) wird hierbei ein Forschungsprojekt des Deutschen Instituts für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung zum „Erziehungsraum Schule – ein internationaler Vergleich zur Schulwirklichkeit" ausgewertet, das die Thematik von Zeitstrukturen, Curricula und Prüfungen unter Einbeziehung der Schulwirklichkeit untersucht. Die folgenden Ausführungen basieren auf einer Vergleichsstudie, in die England und Wales, Frankreich und Italien, Spanien, die Niederlande und Dänemark sowie die Bundesrepublik Deutschland unter Einschluß der DDR einbezogen wurden (SCHMIDT, Manuskript).

Allgemein ist in diesen Ländern zu beobachten, daß sich für die Wiederaufnahme der Ganztagsschuldiskussion die Rahmenbedingugen gegenüber den sechziger Jahren erheblich gewandelt haben. Die damals als gesellschaftspolitisches Ziel prognostizierte Ausweitung der Frauenerwerbstätigkeit ist für viele Familien zur Realität geworden. 1988 waren von

Frauen mit Kindern unter 10 Jahren beschäftigt: in Deutschland 38%, Frankreich 56%, England 46%, Italien 42%, Holland 32%, Spanien 28%, Dänemark 79% (MOSS 1990, S.7), eine Zahl, die schon mit den vergangenen Größenordnungen in den Ländern des nicht mehr bestehenden Sowjetsystems vergleichbar ist. So waren in der DDR, die die Spitzenposition innehatte, in den achtziger Jahren ca. 87% der Frauen im erwerbstätigen Alter, also auch die meisten Mütter mit Kindern der genannten Altersgruppe – häufig sogar ganztägig – beschäftigt (HELWIG 1982, S. 33).

Der Ausbau des Bildungswesens im Zeichen einer Durchsetzung gleicher Bildungschancen ist auf struktureller Ebene in den meisten Staaten zum Stillstand gekommen, und auch die Aufwendung öffentlicher Mittel im Rahmen des Staatshaushaltes für das Schulwesen erlaubt keine großartige Expansion mehr. In den bis Ende der achtziger Jahre in der Bereitstellung staatlicher Mittel für die Betreuung von Schulkindern so freigebigen Ländern wie der DDR und ihren osteuropäischen Nachbarstaaten hat der Zusammenbruch des alten Systems die Bedingungen der schulischen Arbeit in diesem Bereich rapide verschlechtert.

In dieser gegenüber den sechziger Jahren weniger günstigen Situation wird im westlichen Teil Europas in vielen Ländern gefordert, daß die allgemeinbildende Schule dennoch einen größeren Beitrag als bisher dazu leisten solle, die Lücken in der Betreuung von Schülern zu füllen, die durch die zunehmende Erwerbstätigkeit von Müttern schulpflichtiger Kinder entstanden sind.

Die verschiedenartigen Maßnahmenbündel und Absichtsbekundungen treffen zeitlich mit einschneidenden qualitativen Reformvorhaben wie der Einführung neuer Inhalte, Dezentralisierungs- und Partizipationsregelungen und veränderten Finanzierungsmodi für die allgemeinbildende Schule zusammen, die in der zweiten Hälfte der achtziger Jahre in vielen der von uns betrachteten Länder eingeleitet wurden. An der Sparpolitik im Bildungsbereich sind aber kaum Korrekturen vorgesehen. Die Aufgabe, in diesen Umstellungsprozessen auch ein breiteres und verbessertes Betreuungsangebot vorzusehen, bedeutet für die bildungspolitisch Verantwortlichen, aber auch für die Schulen vor Ort, eine große pädagogische Herausforderung.

2. Betreuungsleistungen von Halb- und Ganztagsschulen – Bestandsaufnahme

Einen zentralen Ausgangspunkt der Ganztagsschuldebatte bildete schon in den sechziger Jahren die Unterscheidung von sogenannten Halbtagsschulländern („HTS", Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Italien, DDR und Osteuropa), in denen der Schulbesuch in der Regel mittags beendet ist, gegenüber Ländern, die seit langem über eine Ganztagsschule („GTS") verfügen (Frankreich, England und Wales, Spanien und die Niederlande, nur mit Einschränkungen Dänemark), wo auch der Nachmittag in den Schulbesuch einbezogen ist. Ein Argument, das man bis heute in dieser Debatte antrifft, besagt, daß GTS-Systeme gegenüber HTS-Systemen besser geeignet seien, die Betreuungsprobleme zu lösen, die mit der zunehmenden Erwerbstätigkeit von Müttern zusammenhängen. Darüber hinaus wird vorgetragen, daß Ganztagsschulen auch die *besseren* Schulen seien, weil sie ein breites Spektrum zusätzlicher pädagogischer Angebote einschließlich der Anfertigung von Hausaufgaben gewährleisten könnten (z.B. NEUMANN/RAMSEGER 1990). Es ist also zu überprüfen, ob diese Argumente mit der Realität übereinstimmen, wobei die Veränderungen insbesondere des letzten Jahrzehnts in den Blick genommen werden müssen.

Zutreffend ist, daß in Ländern mit GTS die Lücken zwischen schulischen Betreuungs- und elterlichen Arbeitszeiten weniger gravierend als in HTS-Systemen sind; sie sind dennoch vorhanden und haben teilweise zusätzliche Vorkehrungen erforderlich gemacht. Diese ergänzenden Maßnahmen werden bei einem Vergleich aus schulischer Sicht leicht vernachlässigt, da sie in der Regel anderen inhaltlichen und organisatorischen Mustern als der Schulunterricht folgen.

So kennen auch Ganztagsschulsysteme (neben dem hier ausgeklammerten Problem der Schulferienbetreuung) folgende Konfliktzonen:

- Besonders bei einer relativ späten Öffnung der Schule – etwa zwischen 8.30 und 9.00 Uhr (so in England und Wales, den Niederlanden und Spanien) wächst der Betreuungsbedarf vor Schulbeginn. Auch ein relativ früher Schulschluß (so z.B. bereits zwischen 14 und 15 Uhr in Dänemark oder zwischen 15 und 16 Uhr in England und Wales) verursacht zusätzliche Betreuungslücken am späteren Nachmittag, für die verschiedentlich schulische Angebote oder solche außerschulischer Träger in den Räumen der Schule eingerichtet wurden. Unseren Angaben zufolge ist ein solches Angebot außer in England und

Wales für die Eltern überall kostenpflichtig und nur für einen Teil der Schüler gedacht (EURYDICE 1990).

- Die betreute Mittagspause, die zwischen 1 und 1,5 Stunden (in England und Wales) und bis zu 3 Stunden (in Spanien) betragen kann, ist ein Angebot, das entweder nicht generell gewährleistet ist (so in Spanien oder den Niederlanden) oder dessen Sicherung auf hohem pädagogischen Niveau und unter Einsatz von qualifiziertem Personal nur mit wachsenden Abstrichen aufrechterhalten werden kann (besonders ist der Einsatz von Lehrern rückläufig, so in England und Wales).

- Auch ist es in den von uns untersuchten Ländern nicht die Regel sondern eher die Ausnahme, daß sich der Nachmittagsunterricht auf alle fünf Wochentage von Montag bis Freitag erstreckt; dies ist nur in Spanien gegeben. Da in der überwiegenden Zahl der Länder die 6-Tagewoche im Schulbereich noch durchaus verbreitet ist, reduziert sich für zahlreiche Schüler der ganztägige Unterricht auf zwei, drei oder vier Wochentage (Italien, Niederlande, Frankreich, England und Wales).

Die Betreuungsproblematik würde zusätzlich wachsen, wenn das in England und Wales sowie in Spanien teilweise favorisierte Muster um sich greift, den Schultag über eine Verkürzung der Mittagspause bereits am frühen Nachmittag zu beenden. Die Lösung, die in Spanien mißverständlich „completa", also „vollständiger" gegenüber dem „geteilten" („partida") Unterrichtstag genannt wird (EURYDICE 1990), kommt einem „ungeteilten" Halbtag von 6 Unterrichtsstunden nahe, wie es ihn auch in HTS-Ländern gibt. Der Schultag der dänischen Schüler ab Klasse 5 wird seit langem nach diesem Muster gestaltet.

Zu revidieren ist auch die Annahme, daß in GTS auf nach Schulschluß zu erledigende Hausaufgaben verzichtet werde und ein breites Angebot zusätzlicher pädagogischer Aktivitäten neben dem Unterricht zur Verfügung stehe. Ein genauer Vergleich der Aufteilung der Zeit, die die Schüler täglich in der Schule verbringen, auf Unterrichtszeit, Pausen, schulbezogene Gemeinschaftsaktivitäten und individuelle Anfertigung der Aufgaben zeigt beispielsweise für die Schule in Frankreich und Spanien, daß für freie Einzel- und Gruppenaktivitäten wenig Zeit bleibt. Namentlich ist es die Mittagspause, die im Schulalltag häufig für entsprechende Vorhaben zu Hilfe genommen wird (HESSE/KODRON 1991, S.71). In Spanien findet sich sogar nach Schulschluß häufig noch ein von den Eltern finanzierter freiwilliger privater Zusatzunterricht, der auch traditionelle Unter-

richtsgegenstände wie Fremdsprachen umfassen kann und am späten Abend in den Räumen der Schule durchgeführt wird.

Zusammenfassend lassen sich die neueren Entwicklungen in den GTS-Ländern nicht als Beleg für die These heranziehen, daß die GTS gegenüber der HTS, so wie wir sie in Europa bisher vorfinden, eine Schulform ist, die durch ein Plus an zeitlicher Ausdehnung Betreuungsprobleme umfassend lösen und dabei ein erheblich erweitertes pädagogisches Angebot im Bereich „freier Aktivitäten" zur Verfügung stellen kann.

Wenden wir uns nun der Frage zu, wie HTS-Systeme versuchen, eine Lösung der Betreuungsproblematik zu leisten. Unter diesem Aspekt lassen sich die im einzelnen ebenfalls sehr heterogenen Entwicklungen in den HTS-Ländern anhand von zwei institutionell und funktional unterschiedlichen Grundmustern ordnen, je nachdem ob die Betreuung mehr schulbezogen ist und alle Schüler einer Schule erfaßt, von Lehrern geleistet und unentgeltlich ist oder ob sie familienbezogen gestaltet ist, d.h. daß die Teilnahme freiwillig und meist kostenpflichtig ist und neben oder anstelle von Lehrern Sozialpädagogen, Erzieher, Eltern und Hilfskräfte eingesetzt werden. Die Vielfalt der Lösungen kompliziert sich noch dadurch, daß in den einzelnen Ländern die außerschulische Betreuung ergänzende Aufgaben übernehmen kann.

Als Fortentwicklung und Korrektur früherer Versuche in den sechziger Jahren findet sich das erste Muster heute am ausgeprägtesten in Italien, einem Land, das traditionell kaum Angebote außerschulischer Betreuung kannte. Es kann wie folgt beschrieben werden: In den achtziger Jahren wurde das Konzept des Ganztagsunterrichts in Italien auf die Entwicklung eines neuen Curriculum bezogen. Auf einen festgelegten Kanon von Bildungsinhalten wird verzichtet (BRINKMANN 1991, S. 25) und eine ganzheitliche Persönlichkeitsentwicklung angestrebt, in deren Mittelpunkt die Förderung von Handlungs- und Sprachkompetenz stehen. Neu gebildete Kollegialorgane der Schule sollen unter Mitwirkung von Eltern die Bildungs- und Erziehungsprozesse bis auf die Ebene der einzelnen Klasse inhaltlich konkret planen. Ein Wandel der Lehrerfunktion wird als unabdingbare Voraussetzung angestrebt.

Der Ganztagsunterricht, der inzwischen etwa 20 % der italienischen Schüler von Primar- und Sekundarstufe I erfaßt (ebd., S. 46), wird von Lehrern erteilt und ist unentgeltlich. Wenn die Elternschaft einer Schulklasse ihr Wahlrecht jeweils für ein Jahr ausgeübt hat, kann der Unterricht in ihrer Klasse ganztägig erteilt werden und der Besuch der Nachmit-

tagsveranstaltungen ist bindend. Die über den Halbtagsunterricht hinaus verfügbare Zeit wird für Stützmaßnahmen für Schüler mit besonderen Schwierigkeiten und freie ergänzende Aktivitäten (etwa künstlerischer Art) vorgesehen.

Die kritischen Punkte dieser Konzeption dürften im folgenden liegen:

- Der Ganztagsunterricht („GTU") dehnt sich gegenwärtig nur noch langsam aus, weil er an bestimmte materielle und personelle Voraussetzungen gebunden ist, denen Sparmaßnahmen entgegenstehen.

- Der GTU in Italien kann die Betreuungsprobleme berufstätiger Eltern nur begrenzt lösen, zumal er nachmittags nur an zwei bis drei Tagen stattfindet. Die berufliche und familiäre Situation ist jedoch nach der besonderen Förderung ihres Kindes ein zweites entscheidendes Motiv für die Eltern, den GTU zu wünschen.

- Die Lösung, daß die Elternschaft je einer Schulklasse sich jährlich neu für die Teilnahme am GTU entscheidet, steht in Spannung zu organisatorischen und pädagogischen Zielsetzungen der Schule.

- Aus der zentralen Stellung des Lehrers in dieser Konzeption ergeben sich Konflikte; dies gilt besonders, zumal die Lehrer-Arbeitszeitverkürzung und die öffentlichen Sparmaßnahmen den Funktionswandel des Lehrers behindern, der notwendig ist, wenn die neue curriculare Konzeption der ganzheitlichen Persönlichkeitsentwicklung in der Praxis umgesetzt werden soll.

Das zweite Muster für die Gestaltung von Betreuung in einem HTS-System findet sich *neben* dem ersten in der Bundesrepublik und in der dänischen Folkeskole, deren Oberklassen allerdings in Ganztagsform geführt werden. Dieses Muster kann wie folgt beschrieben werden:

Es ist ein seit langem etabliertes außerschulisches Betreuungsangebot vorhanden; in der Bundesrepublik besteht ein ganzes Netz von Einrichtungen wie der staatliche Schulhort und das Angebot privater Erziehungsträger, das allerdings eine breite, professionelle und verläßliche Betreuung nicht garantieren kann (BARGEL 1991, S. 928). Auch ist ein Miteinander von Schule und außerschulischen Aktivitäten der Jugendarbeit in der Vergangenheit kaum erreicht worden. In Dänemark gibt es seit langem die traditionsreichen Freizeitheime für ältere Schüler, die der Sozialverwaltung unterstehen. Für Abstimmung und Kooperation mit der Schu-

le scheinen dort weitaus günstigere Voraussetzungen als in Deutschland zu bestehen (BURKE/DÖBRICH/GULDBORG/SUGRUE 1991).

Die zahlenmäßig oder in bezug auf ihre Regelmäßigkeit unzureichenden vorhandenen Angebote sollen nun vordringlich für die bislang nur stundenweise unterrichteten jüngeren Schüler ergänzt werden, indem schulische Betreuungsmaßnahmen für den ganzen Vormittag – in Dänemark auch den Nachmittag – eingeführt werden. Die Teilnahme ist in Dänemark grundsätzlich, in der Bundesrepublik überwiegend freiwillig und kostenpflichtig; außerschulische Träger können von den Schulen zur Betreuung hinzugezogen werden, die auch auf ihrem Gelände oder in ihren Räumen stattfinden kann. In beiden Ländern sind die Auswirkungen auf die Inhalte der Betreuungsmaßnahmen noch unklar; in bezug auf das Personal gibt es zahlreiche Mischformen: Es werden keine Lehrer, sondern Sozialpädagogen, Erzieher und Eltern, in Dänemark auch Studenten, eingesetzt. Auf die neue Situation in Ostdeutschland kann hier nicht näher eingegangen werden; dort hatte es bis 1990 eine an der gesellschaftlichen Arbeitszeit ausgerichtete kostenfreie freiwillige nachmittägliche Hortbetreuung für jüngere Schüler in den Räumen der Schule gegeben. Es stand ein breiter Stamm von Horterzieherinnen zur Verfügung, die in der Mehrzahl eine Lehrerausbildung durchlaufen hatten (SCHMIDT 1990).

Neben den fortgesetzten Bestrebungen, die Ganztagsschule nach dem schulbezogenen Muster auszubauen, stehen gegenwärtig die beschriebenen familienbezogenen Muster in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland im Zentrum der öffentlichen Aufmerksamkeit.

Sie kommen der staatlichen Sparpolitik entgegen; sie harmonieren auch mit der besonderen Bedeutung, die dem elterlichen Erziehungsanspruch in der deutschen Rechtsprechung und Sozialpolitik zukommt. Sie stehen schließlich in Übereinstimmung mit den Wünschen der Elternschaft, die sich mehrheitlich nur für eine freiwillige zusätzliche Betreuung ihrer Kinder an einigen Nachmittagen der Woche ausspricht (BARGEL/KUTHE 1990).

Als kritische Punkte werden in der Diskussion vor allem die folgenden genannt:

Es handele sich um „Billiglösungen" in bezug auf das eingesetzte Personal, den Rückgriff auf außerschulische Träger sowie die Beteiligung der Eltern an der Deckung der Unkosten. Insbesondere sei zu fragen, ob die pri-

mär pädagogische Aufgabe gelöst werden könne, schulische Muster mit denen außerschulischer familienbezogener Betreuung zu integrieren (z.B. IPFLING 1991, S. 41f).

Der Blick auf die früheren „realsozialistischen" Länder, namentlich die DDR, zeigt, daß unter den dortigen Voraussetzungen eine pädagogische Integration der verschiedenen Maßnahmen ganztägiger Betreuung zu einem „ganztägigen pädagogischen Prozeß" nicht gelang. Dabei waren mit den sehr günstigen finanziellen Bedingungen und der hohen pädagogischen Qualifikation der Betreuer, aber auch mit der aus ideologischen Gründen einheitlichen Erziehungskonzeption, die alle Bereiche der Gesellschaft durchdringen sollte, und der engen organisatorischen und personellen Verbindung von Schule, Schulhort, Kinder- und Jugendorganisation eine Reihe scheinbar günstiger Bedingungen geschaffen worden.

Bereits vor dem politischen Umbruch bestand Anlaß, Modelle einer Freizeitpädagogik für den Schulhort zu entwickeln, die eine Alternative zur eingetretenen Verschulung der gesamten in der Schule verbrachten Tageszeit bieten und das vorhandene Übermaß an Gängelung und Kontrolle in der unterrichtsfreien Zeit in der Schule abbauen sollten. Auch gab es ein qualitatives Gefälle zwischen Schule und Schulhort, obwohl im Hort überwiegend als Lehrer ausgebildete Kräfte eingesetzt waren (SCHMIDT 1990).

Der mit zunehmendem Alter der Schüler wachsende Teilnehmerschwund wurde zu einer Erscheinung, die im Bereich des Schulhorts letztlich von staatlicher Seite akzeptiert wurde. Im Bereich der Kinder- und insbesondere der Jugendorganisation stellte er ein Dauerproblem dar, das man in den höheren Altersstufen im wesentlichen unabhängig von der Schule zu lösen versuchte.

Als Ergebnis dieser Bestandsaufnahme ist festzuhalten: Die Debatte, die von einer Überlegenheit der Ganztagsschulen gegenüber den Halbtagsschulen ausgeht, trifft nicht den Kern der Probleme, die bei einer Ausdehnung der Betreuungszeiten in den betrachteten Ländern unter den gegenwärtigen Bedingungen entstehen. Schulbezogene Betreuungsmuster haben bislang die Betreuungsaufgaben, die aus der wachsenden Berufstätigkeit der Frauen entstehen, unter dem Zeitaspekt nicht ausreichend lösen können. In bezug auf die inhaltliche Dimension der Schule zeigt ein Blick in die einzelnen Länder eine ganze Reihe von Beispielen starker Verschulung der in der Schule verbrachten Zeit, auch wenn ausdrücklich darauf abgezielt wird, die Schüler nicht mit Lernaufgaben zu überlasten.

Aber auch die familienbezogenen Muster führen nicht automatisch dazu, daß unsere Schulen sämtlich „bessere" Schulen werden. Insbesondere Pädagogen fordern, daß es gelingen müsse, die unterschiedlichen Aufgabenbereiche von Unterricht, Erziehung und Betreuung stärker zu integrieren, um für jene Aufgaben der Schule mehr Raum zu schaffen, die neben der Unterrichtserteilung bestehen.

3. Absehbare Entwicklungen und Probleme

Die vorstehenden Betrachtungen über die neueren Entwicklungen in einigen europäischen Ländern zeigen, daß sowohl in GTS-Systemen als auch in HTS-Systemen schulbezogene und familienbezogene Muster auch innerhalb des schulischen Bereichs in verschiedensten Variationen miteinander kombiniert werden. Wenn es um Betreuung in der Schule geht, kommt man ohne die familienbezogenen Muster kaum aus. Zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen kam bereits die Studie der Europäischen Gemeinschaft zur Thematik von „Kinderbetreuung und Chancengleichheit" vom Jahre 1988 (MOSS 1988), die den bestehenden funktionsbedingten und institutionellen Unterschieden der schulbezogenen Betreuung gegenüber familienbezogenen Betreuungsmustern große Bedeutung zumißt.

Neben zahlreichen institutionellen Unterschieden wie der Verwaltungsunterstellung, der Finanzierung und der Qualifikation und Bezahlung des Personals hebt die Studie hervor, daß der Schulbesuch in den Ländern der Europäischen Gemeinschaft generell unentgeltlich, Betreuungsmaßnahmen jedoch gemäß der materiellen Situation der Familien grundsätzlich zu bezahlen seien (MOSS, 1988, S. 163f, 167). Während die Schulen als ein an die Allgemeinheit gerichtetes Angebot mit explizit edukativer Zielsetzung etabliert seien, hätten Betreuungsangebote eine familienergänzende Funktion nur für eine Minderheit, die durch spezielle Problemlagen gekennzeichnet sei. Die Schulen brächten im Sinne ihres Auftrags *nicht*-erzieherischen Notwendigkeiten, d.h. auch Betreuungsaufgaben, häufig zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit entgegen (ebd.).

Gerade eine international vergleichende Betrachtung kann weiteren Aufschluß darüber geben, ob sich die Muster beider Bereiche in langer historischer Entwicklung funktional und institutionell so verfestigt haben, daß ihre Unterschiede die wünschenswerte Integration verhindern und die erwarteten positiven Veränderungen der gesamten Unterrichts- und Erziehungsarbeit der Schule bei einer Ausdehnung der Betreuungsaufgaben auf Dauer eher beeinträchtigen.

Diese Frage fordert natürlich eine eingehende komparatistische Analyse heraus, die im hier gegebenen Rahmen nur insoweit geleistet werden kann, als auf einige relevante Aspekte hingewiesen wird, die sämtlich mit den Besonderheiten der Entwicklung in den einzelnen Ländern in Verbindung stehen.

So werden die Debatten um die täglichen und wöchentlichen Öffnungszeiten der Schule auf dem Hintergrund teilweise einschneidender Veränderungen der Schulpolitik geführt. Die Einführung der Kern-Curricula in England und Wales, die geplante Ausweitung der Abiturientenzahlen in Frankreich, die Maßnahmen von Beschneidung oder Stärkung der Schulautonomie in nahezu allen untersuchten Ländern stehen teilweise in merklicher Spannung zu tradierten Vorstellungen vom Auftrag der Schule als Institution, und es ist schwierig, Prognosen über den weiteren Fortgang der Entwicklung zu machen (Mitter 1992).

So wird die für eine Ausdehnung der täglichen Schulzeit wichtige Frage, ob die Schule in erster Linie kognitive Lernprozesse zu organisieren habe oder aber ein Stück „Leben" für Kinder und Jugendliche gestalte, in den einzelnen Staaten gegenwärtig höchst unterschiedlich beantwortet; das Wechselspiel reformpädagogisch inspirierter Initiativen einer „offenen" Schule und ökonomisch bestimmten Effizienzdrucks auf die Lernergebnisse bedürfte in jedem der einbezogenen Länder einer eingehenden Betrachtung.

Eng verbunden hiermit ist die Frage der Curricula und des Funktionswandels des Lehrers. Dabei sind Ausmaß und Qualität der historisch tradierten Betreuungsleistungen der Schule in den untersuchten Ländern – die selbst innerhalb der GTS Länder („pastoral care" in England und kustodiale Betreuung in Frankreich) einschneidende konzeptionelle Unterschiede aufweisen – Größen, die bei Veränderungen berücksichtigt werden müssen. Gerade die in allen Ländern Europas in unterschiedlicher Ausprägung gelebte Verantwortung der Lehrer für die ganzheitliche Persönlichkeitsentwicklung der Schüler ist ein Wert, der vielleicht rascher verspielt als neu initiiert werden kann. Ähnliches gilt für die in mehreren Ländern gewachsene Akzeptanz der Schule als einer Institution, die im Vergleich zu anderen Erziehungsträgern für Eltern und Schüler weitgehende Erwartungen jenseits des bloßen Lernens erfüllt (z.B. BARGEL/KUTHE 1990, S. 54).

Schließlich bedeutet die Kooperation der Schule mit außerschulischen Erziehungsträgern, daß das breite pluralistische Spektrum der postmoder-

nen Gesellschaften unter inhaltlichem und funktionalem Aspekt in die Schulen Eingang finden könnte (IPFLING 1991). Die freiwillige gegenüber der obligatorischen Teilnahme bei immer mehr schulischen Veranstaltungen sowie deren Entgeltlichkeit und die Einbeziehung von Personen, die keine professionellen Pädagogen sind, sowie die Integration entsprechender Rechts- und Organisationsformen aus dem außerschulischen Bereich bringen Aspekte in die Institution Schule hinein, die ihren Unterrichts-, Erziehungs- und Betreuungsfunktionen neue Impulse geben, sie aber auch in unvorhergesehener und sogar unerwünschter Richtung verändern können.

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